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The Shape of Things

THE FRENCH ARMY, BROKEN INTO FOUR fragments, is still fighting, as we go to press, and Foreign Minister Baudouin, speaking for the new government, insists that France will lay down its arms only "if we can get an honorable peace." Thus, if the Axis demands unconditional surrender as is expected, the French government may still reconsider the British proposal of complete union of the two empires and carry on the fight at sea and in the colonies. But it is also possible that the dictators will offer an armistice on relatively mild terms. Their immediate concern is to get France completely out of the war in order to concentrate all their forces for a rapid conquest of Britain. That achieved, they can revise their conditions without interference. But Britain has still to be crushed, and desperate as its situation appears, it may prove capable of resisting a prolonged siege. Much will depend on what happens to the French navy. If the British Admiralty can prevent the surrender of a major part of France's fighting ships it will have a chance to beat off invasion and maintain at least a partial blockade of the Continent.

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RUSSIA HAS FOUND A PRETEXT EXCUSING its complete occupation of the Baltic states and the establishment there of puppet governments. According to Moscow the three little countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had been intriguing together and had formed an alliance against the Soviets. There may be some truth in the charge, but it can be taken for granted that any plans that had been concocted were based on an understanding with Stalin's "friend" Hitler. The Baltic states are too weak to plot against any great power except in conjunction with another great power. The real significance of Russia's move, and of its reported concentration of troops in Russian Poland, is of course its fear that with the completion of Hitler's western campaign the Soviet-German pact will become another scrap of paper. There is little reason to hope that the U. S. S. R. is preparing to join the war with an attack on the German rear. Its concern, rather, is to bolster its defenses against the possibility of assault in the not too distant future. It would not be surprising if, in furtherance of this aim, it decided to occupy Bessarabia, so as to push its southwestern frontier back from dangerous proximity to the great port of Odessa. There are also rumors of new Soviet demands on Finland. Now that Germany has overrun all Norway and has Sweden under its thumb, the Nazis are in a position to outflank Russia's newly acquired strongholds in the Gulf of Finland.

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IN AN EFFORT TO SAVE SOME CHILDREN, at least, from the Nazi juggernaut an organization known as "Save Europe's Children" was formed in Washington last week under the leadership of Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. The immediate purpose of the organization is to bring British children to Canada out of range of Nazi aerial bombardment. The number of children who can be cared for in Canada is naturally limited, and it will be necessary to get special legislation before any refugees can be brought, even temporarily, to the United States. The obtaining of this legislation will, we trust, be part of the task of the new organization. To care for child refugees is the very least that this country can do for the preservation of European freedom. It would involve no possible threat to our security and place little, if any, burden on our economy. These children would not compete for American jobs; as consumers they would make jobs, not take them.

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THERE IS NO REASON WHY TONY GALENTO should not periodically advise the American people on matters of taxation, social security, and naval affairs; why Colonel Lindbergh should not give us his views on foreign policy; or why anybody should pay the slightest attention to either of them. So far Galento has stuck to beer and boxing, but the Colonel's remarks have become front-page copy and are regularly refuted by United States Senators. They must therefore be treated with respect, if also with bewilderment. In his latest message to the nation Lindbergh warns us against "doing to England and

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France what they did to Abyssinia, to Czechoslovakia, to Poland, to Finland, and to Norway." Has the Colonel turned suddenly against that policy of appeasement which he himself did so much to promote? Not at all. Where Chamberlain and Daladier went wrong, according to Lindbergh, was not in failing those wretched countries, but in refusing to fail them quickly and firmly at the outset. He would have us treat the Allies better by telling them that they are not to buy our guns and supplies. Any other course would confront this country with generations of war against "the strongest military nation the world has ever known." Presumably Germany would declare this war, since we would have no reason to do so, and it would be up to Germany to take the initiative. Yet Lindbergh weaves a Buck Rogers fantasy about the prospect of our having to build an armada to transport millions of men and "several hundred thousand airplanes" for an attempted invasion of a continent armed to the teeth. We don't believe for a moment that Lindbergh puts any stock in such stuff. Our guess is that at the heart of his itch to appease is the conviction, expressed near the end of his speech, that Nazism is, after all, perfectly consonant with the civilization we have known. It is just a matter of adjustment.

*

GETULIO VARGAS, PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL, seems to be a lying young man on a flying trapeze. The day after Mr. Roosevelt's "stab in the back" speech at Charlottesville, Vargas declared "the sterile demagogy of political democracy" dead, praised the "virile" dictatorships, and predicted a new world order on totalitarian lines. The speech, naturally, was regarded as a bid for the favor of the Axis powers. But Vargas cannot afford to bite the hand that is still on the verge of feeding him a $120,000,000 credit, and he now explains that his praise of the dictatorships "can in no sense be regarded as contradictory" to Mr. Roosevelt's attack upon them. The attempt to follow the Brazilian dictator's agile logic leaves us giddy, but his opportunist past and Brazil's economic position make it less difficult to understand his eagerness to be in the good graces of both the Axis and Washington at one and the same time. Brazil needs Hitler's good-will to pour its chief product into the coffee cups of Europe. Brazil also needs the financial and other favors showered upon Vargas by Washington in the past few years: three destroyers being built for him in our shipyards, ninety six-inch guns sold him last March, a $120,000,000 credit promised him when he reaches a debt agreement with the United States, conferences under way to build a $10,000,000 steel plant for him with American money. On November 27, 1937, *The Nation* questioned the wisdom of building warships for the South American dictator "most likely to line up with Hitler and Mussolini." The Vargas speech underscores the question.

OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE reacted strongly to Mussolini's "stab in the back" and the growing menace of Nazi victory in Europe. There have been widespread press condemnations of the Italian action and in many countries impressive anti-fascist demonstrations. New efforts to counteract Axis propaganda and subversive activities are reported. In Uruguay, where Nazi organizations have been particularly energetic, a Congressional investigation has resulted in numerous arrests. The German minister has dissolved the local branches of the Nazi Party and the Labor Front and taken charge of their records in an apparent effort to conceal damaging evidence. Mexico, which has been accused in the press of a dangerous degree of toleration for "fifth-column" elements, has pronounced Arthur Dietrich, press attaché and organizer of Nazi propaganda, *persona non grata* and requested his early departure. Even more significant are the statement by Secretary of the Interior Ignacio Tellez that Mexico's foreign policy is pro-Ally and the message sent to France by President Cárdenas expressing disapproval of the Italian declaration of war. Almost simultaneously Lombardo Toledano, secretary general of the C. T. M.,

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 741

EDITORIALS:

WHAT NEXT? by Freda Kirchwey 743

WHY FRANCE FELL 745

OUR ENEMIES WITHIN 745

DON'T APPEASE JAPAN 746

RITES FOR THE G. O. P. by Charles Malcolmson 747

YOUTH, WAR, AND FREEDOM by Raymond Gram Swing 749

MEN WHO WOULD BE PRESIDENT

IX. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT by Max Lerner 752

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 755

IN THE WIND 756

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 757

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

EMPIRE AND PEACE by Hans Kohn 758

HEALTH AND THE STATE by Karl Menninger 758

DISCOVERING CANADA by Maxwell S. Stewart 760

BIOGRAPHY OF A MIND by Jacques Barzun 761

IN BRIEF 763

FILMS by Franz Hoellering 763

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 764

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who had previously tended to follow the Moscow line in regard to the war, announced his sympathy with the Allies and asserted that "the workers of Latin America have always fought fascism and will continue fighting it." All in all, signs of a change of atmosphere in Mexico City lend support to the current rumors that Britain is seeking a renewal of diplomatic relations with Mexico and a settlement of the dispute arising out of the expropriation of the Royal Dutch Shell oil properties.

*

EVIDENCE THAT THE ITALIAN CONSULATE in New York directs at least three national Fascist organizations and is engaged in extensive pro-Fascist propaganda was revealed last week by Police Commissioner Valentine. New York City alone has been found to contain at least sixty *Centri Educativi* (cultural centers) devoted to the spread of Fascist doctrines. While the existence of these activities is not exactly news—as witness the extensive revelations regarding the Casa Italiana at Columbia University in *The Nation* some years ago—they take on a much more serious character as a result of Italy's entrance into the war. How many Italian-Americans actually support Italy is an open question. Captain Bertolini, Italian consular agent for eight New York counties, boasted that all of the 6,000,000 persons of Italian descent in the United States are backing the aspirations of Mussolini. This is refuted by the unmistakable demonstrations of loyalty to the United States of hundreds of thousands of former Italian citizens. But if there are only a few thousand Italians working under the direction of the Italian consulates, such activities constitute a genuine fifth-column danger, in contrast to the Trojan red herrings which are inspiring so many fishermen's tales. That such activities are also an illegal abuse of diplomatic immunity is beyond dispute. We are glad to note that Secretary Hull is conducting an investigation independently of the FBI. Having obtained the necessary information, we trust that he will not hesitate to act even to the point of breaking off diplomatic relations.

*

"A BILL TO DEPORT THE CONSTITUTION" ought to be the title of the bill just passed by the House to deport Harry Bridges. The vote, 330 to 42, in favor of a proposal which violates the most cherished of our constitutional safeguards, is a measure of the extent to which Congress is losing its head. Left wingers like Marcantonio and Geyer of California, middle-of-the-roaders like Sabath of Illinois and Martin J. Kennedy of New York, professional anti-Communists like Dickstein of New York, conservatives like Bruce Barton and Wadsworth, and even Hobbs of Alabama, author of the famous "concentration-camp" bill, were among those who found it impossible to vote for so shocking a measure as the Bridges deportation bill. Congressman Havenner of California ably argued the point raised by *The Nation* in its issue of May 25 that the measure was really a bill of attainder, notorious instrument of Tudor tyranny, forbidden by Article I of the Constitution. Thorkelson of Montana and Schafer of Wisconsin, whose peculiar brand of Americanism has a strong Munich accent, supported the bill as a way of fighting the fifth column. Sabath of Illinois, in a speech against the measure, called attention to Schafer's position and said, "I am commencing to feel strongly that this [stand taken by Schafer] may be for the purpose of distracting attention from the activities of the fifth columnists, namely, the Nazis."

*

HEADLINE READERS MAY BE STARTLED TO learn from the Department of Commerce that the net debt in the United States declined by $10,000,000,000 between 1929 and 1939. The $22,000,000,000 increase in the public debt during the period was more than offset by a $32,000,000,000 drop in debts owed by private individuals. It must not be assumed that the reduction in debt is entirely a gain. A large part of the reduction was achieved the hard way—through bankruptcy and foreclosures. To some extent it merely is indicative of lower prices and a lower level of business activity. The rise in government debt reflects the fact that the government is now engaged in many of the constructive activities formerly carried on by private enterprise. But there is room for gratification in the substantial lightening of the burden of indebtedness, particularly since carrying charges, owing to reduced interest rates, have been cut to an even greater extent. This situation has been further improved by the fact that the interest on government debts tends to be considerably lower than that on private indebtedness. For the real test of the burden of debt is not the amount of the debt but the amount of the carrying charges in relation to the population. But though we know that our per capita indebtedness was reduced from $1,410 in 1929 to $1,230 in 1939, we do not yet have figures on the annual savings involved for the American people.

What Next?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHAT comes next? Let us hope that it will not be panic and a tidal wave of despair. The greatest disaster in the world would be, not the military defeat of France or even of France and Britain, but the acceptance by the United States of the myth that Nazi Germany is invincible. The terrifying union of organization and armed might with implacable aggression may overwhelm the unready European democracies. But it need not and must not overwhelm us. For we have their

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mistakes to warn and guide us. The record of the past four years, so packed with bitter wisdom, is open before us. We have only to study it without blinking and then act—confidently and strongly.

It is natural that the immediate reaction to the French surrender should be a feeling that the game is up, that Hitler can't be stopped this side of his ultimate desires. But fear can be as unrealistic as easy optimism. We can easily give the victory to Hitler by taking fright, and running for cover, and planning future concessions. If we do any of these things we shall be ignoring the example provided by France and Britain. Instead we should recognize certain basic facts and build on them our opinions and our policies.

The first fact is that *the United States is at war with Germany and has been for years.* So far the struggle has been carried on in the field of trade and finance, through diplomatic pressures and withdrawals, through the help provided, behind inadequate camouflage, to the Allies. The war was forced upon us by the very nature of fascism; and while we have tried to avoid the full implications of our involvement we have been driven further and further into the struggle. And now we are in for the duration. Hitler is not likely to modify his methods when his power on the European continent is supreme; nor will he forget the part the United States has played in the effort to prevent his full triumph. From the moment President Roosevelt announced his intention to quarantine the aggressors, our participation was settled. Unfortunately we did not implement these words with appropriate actions. Instead of promising to support any honest move for collective security, we duplicated the fatal procrastination of Britain and France. We allowed Hitler to pick off his opponents one at a time, pretending meanwhile that our share in the struggle was nothing more than a rather lopsided brand of neutrality. Our mistake lay in the pretenses and hesitations with which we clothed our commitment. At no time was there hope of a genuine peace with Hitler.

Today the chance and the time for pretense are gone. We have openly sided with France and Britain. We shall not by any last-minute repentance be able to dodge the consequences of that alliance. We should not, therefore, repent.

I do not say that we should, instead, declare war on Germany. To propose such a declaration at this time would precipitate a struggle which might prove a disastrous obstacle to continued aid for Britain and dramatize differences now buried, temporarily at least, under the general concern for American security. The proposal would probably be defeated and in its defeat carry down many necessary measures of defense. Even if it were carried, a declaration of war might have the undesired effect of deflecting effort toward the hasty mobilization of man-power and the hoarding of resources that should still be put at the disposal of the powers resisting fascism in the field.

And this brings me to the second fact on which policy should be based.

The British Empire has not been defeated. It is fighting. It is strong in resources and men; its fleets still dominate the oceans. Before this page is read we shall probably know whether the Admiralty can prevent the surrender of the French fleet to Hitler. If it can, Britain may hold out for a long time. The greatest weakness of the British defense is the shortage of trained manpower and of planes. The United States should pour into Britain the "redoubled" aid promised by President Roosevelt to France in its last fighting hours. The United States should look upon England as an American fortress standing off the coast of Nazi Europe, a bastion between our shores and the most powerful aggressor the world has known. As long as England resists we have armed protection and time to prepare to protect ourselves. In England and the British Empire survive, precariously, the last standards outside the New World to which free men can cling. The United States must help defend Britain as long as the British army and fleet defend it.

Mr. Roosevelt knows this. In spite of past errors and delays, the President has demonstrated more understanding of the nature of the struggle against fascism than any other public man in America. And this is the third fact on which policy should be based.

Franklin D. Roosevelt must be reelected. In an article on another page of this issue Max Lerner expresses his belief that a third term is certain. But the disasters of the past few days have raised doubts in many minds. It is being said that Mr. Roosevelt's policy is fatally identified with the defeated or beleaguered democracies of Europe, and that the President himself should favor the election of a man who will come into office untrammeled by such commitments. To accept this position is both to admit the triumph of fascism and to prepare to placate it. Until very recent weeks I have doubted the wisdom of putting Mr. Roosevelt in office for a third term. Today his reelection seems to me vitally important. No other candidate in either camp represents a vigorous resistance to the double danger of fascism working through reactionary forces inside the country and through pressure or attack from outside.

The fact is, Mr. Roosevelt stands alone as a symbol of the will to make democracy live. The most immediate danger that faces the United States is not military attack or political penetration. It is the growth of a spirit of acquiescence in the new order now being imposed upon the world by fascist arms. To replace Roosevelt with a man free of anti-fascist entanglements would be comparable to the replacement of Reynaud by Pétain. We are not yet ready to surrender to Hitler.

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Why France Fell

EXHAUSTED by its vain efforts to hold back the endless waves of fresh Nazi troops and tanks, the French army has broken. Premier Reynaud, unable to rally his Cabinet for a no-surrender policy, has resigned, and the aged Marshal Pétain is providing a front for a government committed to peace at any price. At the time of writing we do not know what that price will be; we can only be sure that it will be crushing.

Why has France so tragically fallen? Why has the French army, so often proclaimed the finest in the world, collapsed a few weeks after the war started in earnest? We cannot at present give any adequate answer in military terms, for only fragments of the picture have yet become available. But we can see that the Allied High Command, no less than the majority of civilians in France, Britain, and America, has been blinded by wishful thinking. The training of the German army and the value and extent of its equipment were alike badly underestimated. Undue faith was placed in the Maginot Line, and a belief that it would make possible a cheap and safe war was fostered. Too little regard was paid to the possibility that the line would be turned by an invasion of the Low Countries, the defensive possibilities of which were grossly exaggerated. The strength of the famous Dutch water line and of Belgium's forts and canals were cheerfully assumed to be capable of delaying the invader for weeks. Thus, when Hitler did in fact strike through the Low Countries, the Allied armies left their prepared positions in the Little Maginot Line along the Belgian frontier to march against the foe, leaving a weak spot in the Meuse valley through which the *Panzer* divisions were able to pour. Thereafter the Allies were never given a chance to establish a solid defensive position behind which they could rally their reserves.

But the defeat of France in the field is only the last link in a long chain. The weakness and unpreparedness which both Britain and France have shown have deep roots in the wilful blindness of the governing classes in both countries. Eager to be deceived, they gladly accepted Hitler's false façade of anti-bolshevism and on this pretext acquiesced in and even encouraged one aggression after another. They had a magnificent opportunity to make collective security a reality when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, but they shirked it because they dreaded the possibility of an overthrow of Italian Fascism. In Spain they threw away perhaps their last opportunity, allowing the Germans and Italians to murder openly a friendly democracy and establish a totalitarian stronghold on the flanks of both the British and French empires. It is the bitterest irony of the French defeat that they should be forced to ask for Franco's mediation to obtain clemency from their conquerors.

An attempt is being made in this country to blame the lack of preparedness in France on the Blum government and its program of social reform and nationalization of the arms industry. This is a most unjust accusation obviously made for domestic political purposes. It takes no account of the fact that labor standards in France had been allowed to lag far behind those of other industrial countries. It omits to mention the pressure maintained on the workers by the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few families who had battened on French resources ever since the end of the last war. Nor does it explain the equal unpreparedness of Britain, where conservative interests had held political power for nine years and the task of building defenses was fully intrusted to private business interests which fell down on the job.

In so far as treachery has played a part in the French defeat it is the treachery mainly of those in high places who intrigued with the Nazis before the war and are now getting ready to creep back as Nazi puppets. It is the treachery, also, of those who placed class interests higher than the safety of their country, and in this category we must include the Communists, who betrayed France on Russian orders, as well as the reactionaries of the right. The great mass of the French people—peasants, workers, small business men—suffer from their guilt but do not share it. They have fought with magnificent courage. May those that survive live to see a new France which will be free both of Nazis and the native rats which have gnawed at its vitals.

Our Enemies Within

IF this country allows itself to be deceived by its real fifth column, American democracy will soon enjoy the privilege of choosing weapons for its own suicide. It may revoke the liberties which are its very essence in order to crush those who challenge the whole idea of liberty; or it may leave these liberties intact, enabling those same elements to dig deep into the life of the country against the day when they can betray a corroded American democracy to the enemy. Either way, hope the proponents of the "total state," we are doomed; either way, they win.

The time has come to show that this choice of alternatives is false to the core. If democracy can confront its enemies only with paralysis or tyranny, then democracy is no way of life, since it lacks the prime essentials of all living organisms: the will and means for self-preservation.

If the choice, as we hope to show, is false, the problem is nevertheless all too real. Norway fell overnight, the victim of an inside job; Dutch democracy, struggling manfully with the invader, abandoned hope when Dutch traitors lined the roofs of Rotterdam and The

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Hague to shoot down Dutch soldiers in the streets, and when Dutch homes, by prearranged plan, were thrown open to German parachutists. It was Belgian officers who failed to blow up strategic Belgian bridges before the oncoming enemy, and Republican Spain harbored in the highest ranks of its army the traitors who by the grace of foreign dictators now rule that ruined country.

These same treasonable elements are feverishly at work now throughout the Americas, and not least of all in the United States. Their presence raises two all-important questions: Who are fifth columnists? What can we do about them? The questions are of equal importance and complexity, and we propose here to discuss only the first, reserving for another issue an analysis of specific proposals.

What makes the problem of identifying fifth columnists and potential fifth columnists most difficult is the mounting fever of the country. In itself this popular revulsion is a tribute to the anti-fascist spirit of the people. But it is a spirit that is being brazenly exploited by the very forces against which it should be directed. The tinpot Hitlers and their more subtle counterparts in politics and industry have done a quick-change into the regalia of minute men and are off in full cry after the "fifth columns" of their choice—the New Deal, the trade unions, and every other genuine anti-fascist force in the country. The Hearst press, with its record of slobbering admiration for Mussolini over a period of years, now takes a bow for having set the country on the track of the fifth column, by which it means the Communists and only the Communists. The Associated Farmers of California, one of whose leaders returned from Germany several years ago expressing admiration for the works of Adolf Hitler, now announce "the most intensive American drive ever directed at a fifth column"—in this case the Okies and the Arkies and all who would protect them from the association's vigilante labor policies. Hamilton Fish, who busied himself in Germany last fall in desperate maneuvers to produce more appeasement for the Führer, wants Harry Bridges deported because he is "a symbol of the fifth columnists in our midst." J. Parnell Thomas, whose Congressional career has been confined to loud-mouthed attacks on everything that smells even faintly of democracy, tells the country over a national hook-up that "the surest way of removing the fifth column from our shores is to remove the New Deal from the seat of government." And as though to crown this monument of brass, former Magistrate Leo J. Healy demands that a jury free his warmly and avowedly pro-Hitler clients—the Christian Frontists on trial in Brooklyn—on the ground that it was natural for them to want to shoot Communists, who are the only true fifth columnists.

There are two great reservoirs of anti-fascism in this country: organized labor and the great body of aliens who fled before the fascist terror or who are close to those who suffered under it. Any attempt to cut off these groups from the fight against fascism and the fifth column is a deliberate weakening of the country against the real enemy. It is the strategy of the genuine fifth columnists, the men to be watched. They are not hard to identify: if you meet a labor-baiter, a union-buster, a racist of anti-Semitic or any other complexion, or one who would have you believe that the reds are the real and only danger, you are confronting a fifth-columnist, potential or full-blown. This is not to defend the Communists; if they are not the core of the fifth column, they are at least its fellow-travelers for the present and they must expect to bear the consequences. But it should be remembered that *all* the democracies which in these past few years have been delivered over to totalitarianism have been betrayed not by Communists but by fascists. Even in Finland, where the Communists had the great Red Army at their back, they were unable to deliver the goods, and their phony People's Government of Otto Kuusinen was so sorry a joke that Stalin had to inter it without so much as a prayer.

The feverish effort of America's fifth-column shouters must not be interpreted simply as an attempt to divert the lightning from themselves. It is deeper than that; it is a flanking movement to divest the country's anti-fascist forces of the only kind of leadership which can possibly be effective, the only leadership which hates fascism and can be counted on to fight it to the end. England and France had to free themselves of control by the Chamberlains, the Bonnets, and the Daladiers before they could really fight Hitler. Here we will have to keep our Fishes and J. Parnell Thomases, our Dieses and Healys, our Hearsts and our Associated Farmers from taking over if we are honestly to come to grips with our own fifth column. For whatever laws we pass, whatever precautions we take, will be no stronger than the men who administer and execute them. The first principle in combating fascism is to put the fight in the hands of anti-fascists.

Don't Appease Japan

AS A by-product of the European crisis a movement has developed in the past few weeks in favor of making a deal with Japan. In the vanguard of this movement are papers such as the Chicago *Tribune* and leaders such as Senator Vandenberg, who have consistently opposed any action by the United States which might hinder the Japanese invasion of China. This group has now been joined by Walter Lippmann, who, while admittedly not a recent convert, has never before openly adopted the appeasement position. Mr. Lippmann's

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argument seems plausible because of its simplicity. He declares that we are faced with serious threats to our security from both Europe and the Far East, with incomparably the greater threat coming from Europe. Therefore it behooves us, according to Mr. Lippmann, to make terms with Japan so as to face one enemy at a time. This would permit us to move our navy into the Atlantic, and thus strengthen our national defenses.

Mr. Lippmann's argument rests on two assumptions, both of which recent experience has shown to be dangerous illusions. The first is that a military clique such as holds power in Japan is responsive to reason and conciliation; the second is that aggression can be held in check in one area while it is encouraged in another. For nearly three years Mr. Chamberlain struggled under these delusions in dealing with Italy, and the result is now fully apparent. To fascists an effort at conciliation is invariably a sign of weakness. The concessions offered are accepted as a sort of tribute from a weaker power and used to strengthen the armed force of the aggressor for the inevitable showdown.

Britain's capitulation to Japan at Tientsin last week on the issue of Chinese currency was perhaps inevitable for a country engaged in a struggle for its very existence. It was followed, significantly enough, by a Japanese demand that all Allied troops and warships be withdrawn from China. But the United States is under no such duress. Our fleet is not needed in the Atlantic at this moment. If we desire to aid the Allies to the utmost, our navy is still more useful in the Pacific than it would be in the Atlantic. The Japanese navy would dominate the Pacific if it were not for the American fleet at Hawaii. Withdrawal of the American ships, with or without an "agreement" with Japan, would invite the seizure of the Dutch East Indies, which would be a severe blow to the Allied supply lines in the East.

Presumably for just such realistic reasons the State Department appears to have turned a deaf ear to suggestions for appeasing Japan. Secretary Hull's statement denouncing the recent frightful Japanese air raids on Chungking indicated that there has been no substantial change in American policy. Passage of Senator Sheppard's bill empowering the President to impose discriminatory embargoes on munitions and war supplies to other than Allied countries may injure Japan far more than the moral embargoes now in effect. A complete stoppage of the shipment of scrap iron to Japan is in sight. Machine tools are already being held up, and the bill would permit even the embargo of oil exports, without which Japan could not maintain its invasion of China. The adoption of these measures will undoubtedly increase the pressure within Japan for the seizure of the Dutch East Indies. In the face of this threat, appeasement talk is especially dangerous.

The democratic countries might do well to tear a leaf out of the notebook of the fascist powers when it comes to strategy. For years the fascists gained considerable success and a reputation for infallibility by nibbling away at the weakest sectors of what might, for want of a better name, be called the democratic front. At present Japan is probably the weakest link in the fascist front. It is only sound sense, then, that the pressure on this link be accentuated rather than relaxed at this critical moment.

Rites for the G. O. P.

BY CHARLES MALCOLMSON

Washington, June 17

NOT that it matters much, but next Monday the Republicans open their convention in Philadelphia, where a national title—pugilistic or political—has not changed hands since Tunney licked Dempsey in 1926. Republicans, however, profess to be encouraged by their Philadelphia convention record, having won the election on the only other occasions (1872 and 1900) when the party convened on the banks of the Schuylkill.

But those were the days of Grant and McKinley. These are days when a minority party—the Republicans have at last accepted and are acting that role—can only pray for a miracle. Yet not prayer but deep melancholy will be the *Leit-motif* of next week's Philadelphia story, and so it is difficult not to describe convention arrangements in funereal terms. Services are expected to last about a week, with interment on Saturday, though the catafalque may remain on display longer if there is any real difficulty about selecting the pall-bearers.

Hardly any Republicans in Washington still believe that the convention will be a "quickie" or that the nomination will be won without a real fight. They are now convinced that if the Taft-Hoover-Willkie combine prevents a Dewey majority on the first few ballots, any one of these three has a good chance for the nomination. This is a sharp reversal of the picture of a month ago, when Buster Dewey was the odds-on favorite in the betting and nobody was taking Hoover or Willkie seriously except themselves. As for Senator Taft, he

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now feels that a ballot *Blitzkrieg* offers his best, and perhaps only, chance of victory. It is certain that in a deadlocked convention the prospects of Hoover and Willkie—in Washington Vandenberg and the others are regarded as washed up—would be vastly enhanced.

Hoover and Willkie present a remarkable political parallel. Six months ago they were the darkest horses in the Republican stable, and even now neither has more than a handful of pledged delegates. But the Great Engineer, an arch-conservative, and the Great Opportunist, who poses as a liberal, appeal strongly to the men of wealth and influence who actually run the Republican Party. As such, and thanks to the disorganized state of the party, either one is today a good "smart-money" bet to romp off with the nomination.

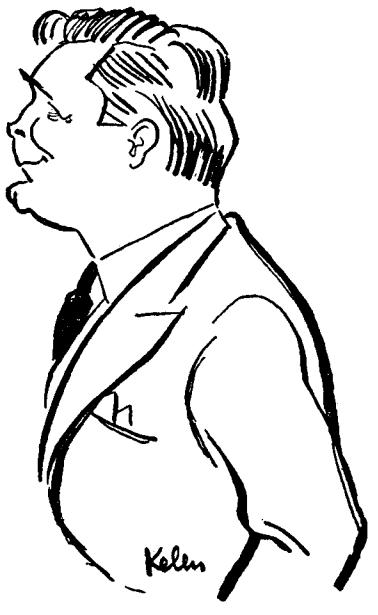
Of the two, Willkie has far greater appeal. He profits from the carefully nurtured myth that he is a "non-professional" politician and pretends to eschew the tricks and sophistry of the trade. Nothing, of course, could be farther from the truth. Willkie is a "smart operator" in every sense of the phrase. That he still has a great deal to learn about politics, however, is clear from the off-the-record address he made here last week at the National Press Club.

Willkie and his partisans may thank his lucky star that this speech was not delivered over a national radio hook-up, for if ever a public figure was guilty of indecent intellectual exposure it was Wall Street's new candidate. The address was blatant, intemperate demogoguery; it revealed Willkie as the closest thing to a native American fascist yet to receive serious consideration as Presidential timber. Even the customary Press Club audience —ten lawyers and lobbyists to one newspaperman— was stunned. It had come to applaud but remained to scoff.

Speculation in Washington, however, is concerned not so much with whom the Republicans will select at the convention next week as with the sort of program on which the nominee will have to base his campaign. The Republicans' position today, astride the horns of the foreign-policy dilemma, is desperate; but even worse is the prospect, once they decide to jump, of landing in a bed of cactus.

The policy-makers at Philadelphia have three choices. They can denounce the President as a warmonger and place the party frankly in the isolationist camp. This, however, would alienate the mass of independent voters on whom the only Republican chance of success depends and acutely embarrass those candidates — including Dewey, Taft, Willkie, and Vandenberg—who have indorsed the Roosevelt foreign policy in essence. They can accept the "all means short of war" position of the President as indecisive and insufficient and demand that the United States participate more effectively in the war and provide more substantially for national defense. This, of course, would oblige them to repudiate isolationist sentiment and at the same time ignore the fact that isolationist Republican administrations have been largely responsible for our present national-defense weaknesses. Or, third, they can take a weaseling middle course, compromise with both isolationists and interventionists, and advance as the keynote of their platform the cry that Republican "professionals" can do a better job of national defense than New Deal "amateurs."

This will satisfy nobody, though it already appears that just such a program, with certain refinements, will emerge in Philadelphia next week. Colonel Lindbergh in his radio address of last Saturday supplied some unmistakable clues to the working of Republican minds The Colonel, who a few weeks ago told everybody to keep calm and not to worry, warned that when and if we enter the war we must be prepared to fight "the strongest military nation in the world." In which case, he declared, "we must turn to a dictatorial government."



Wendell Willkie

Lindbergh's conclusion, though unstated, was inescapable: We should attend to our knitting and do nothing to offend "the strongest military nation the world has ever known," but if we decide to fight we must turn to a dictatorship run by those who really know how to dictate and not by New Deal theorists.

Even more significant for the light it sheds on forthcoming Republican strategy was the Colonel's implied insistence on an American policy of appeasement toward Hitler Germany. Now that France has fallen, this may well turn out to be the real issue of the campaign. Republicans have already organized a whispering campaign which follows a tack something like this: We have to go on living in the same world with Nazi Germany; therefore our best chance of survival lies in electing a President who is not an outspoken enemy of the Hitler regime. Lindbergh's speech served to force this issue out into the open and to lend a touch of plausibility to what might otherwise be dismissed as an ineffective fifth-column attempt to undermine American morale.

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Youth, War, and Freedom

BY RAYMOND GRAM SWING

A FEW weeks ago Dr. Robert Ley, chief of the German Labor Front, in the course of a broadcast gave this definition of freedom. "A man is free," he declared, "first, when he can eat, drink, dress, and live as and where he pleases or finds necessary; second, when he can wander out into the world whenever and however he pleases; and, third, when others honor and esteem his labors. That is the true meaning of freedom." I am not going to criticize this definition at length for what it says, though it is worth pointing out that it does not define such freedom as exists in a totalitarian state, where there is a distinct limitation on earning power; so that a man has to eat, drink, dress, and live according to an income set by the state, and not according to his pleasure or ability. In the Germany of today all young men and women, as labor conscripts, have to give outright of their services to the state, and later in life they are subject to the state's dictated rules as to how long and under what conditions they shall work, and as to the prices at which they must buy their food, clothing, lodging, and travel. But this freedom, Dr. Ley may say, if it does not now exist in practice, will be put into practice as Germany prospers. It is the Germans' ideal. It is what they are striving for. And I want to examine it first of all as an ideal.

The world, at this hour, is in dreadful chaos. It is in the grip of a conflict which bespeaks more than a competition for political power, more than a shift of world markets. Also at stake, besides political and economic power, is a concept of life, its establishment not for this year and next but for many years to come. For this reason, because the concept of life on which our nation was founded is the one that is being challenged, *we* are involved in this conflict, no matter how much or how little we may decide to do in defense of our concept. Even if the war in Europe ends in the defeat of the democracies, our concept of life will be still intact. But the challenge to it will continue, and either our concept of life or the challenging concept of the totalitarian order will prevail in the end.

Dr. Ley has defined freedom as Germany intends to establish it. It consists of economic security, the ability to travel, and the respect of the community. These are worthy objectives. But they are not the American concept of freedom, not because of what Dr. Ley says, but because of what he omits. For in his doctrine of freedom the individual is not free to think, free to speak, free to read, free to formulate his own experience of truth, free to contribute responsibly to the community, to help shape its life and direct its affairs. His freedom gives man an economic minimum and a sense of satisfaction in his labor, which surely is good. But it disregards his individual spiritual life, and the cooperation of men's individual spiritual lives for the benefit of the community and of the state. To put it bluntly, man is economically free but politically and spiritually enslaved. And there is the conflict of concepts.

A great many persons in this country have tried to evade facing the choice. They have told themselves that they were not involved in the struggle in Europe. They have ascribed other issues to the war. They have said it was a war between imperialisms, and so in a sense it is. They have said it was a war brought on by a peace treaty after the last war which did injustice to Germany, and so in a sense it is. They have said it was a war being fought a long way off. But what no one can deny truthfully is that the outcome of the war, whatever its origins, will be to establish or destroy in Europe a concept of individual and political freedom. And if it is destroyed there, it already is partly destroyed in all the world. For unless all civilized countries are free, no one country, nor even a single continent, can progress in freedom. It will be on the defensive. It will go into a stage of striving to preserve a freedom which is on the wane, which has lost its appeal to modern men.

I think all of us are reluctant to admit to ourselves just how much we care about certain values in life. It is a deep process to square away to certain truths and to know that in necessity one would not flinch in defending them. Life is precious to us. Anyone who says light-heartedly that he would be ready to die for something can't be very sensitive or very honest with himself. We hope that when a test comes of our courage and our loyalty we shall not fail, but we don't go about advertising the aching conquest of ourselves. I believe that most enlightened men and women, young and old, when the emergency arises would make any sacrifice, even of life itself, to preserve a right to freedom. I believe this because it is the revelation of the ages. Many men have died to attain freedom, and to many men in the long past the necessity of freedom was the necessity of life itself.

There is a great deal of talk these days, particularly among young people, about what they are not willing to die for. I cannot criticize the younger generation for saying that they have no intention of dying for the contribution made to civilization by the older generation. As I look back upon that contribution I can well understand and

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respect their attitude. The generation to which I belong has done some splendid things. It has mechanized life, which is not to be sneered at. It has reduced space. The airplanes which are dropping bombs in Europe mustn't obscure our vision of the airplanes that are making the unification of China possible, that are bringing Latin America into close neighborhood with us, that have reduced the Atlantic ocean to one-fifth its breadth, that are making all men close to all men, as few men who lived in the same province a century ago were close to one another. Modern communications systems have pulled us still closer together; news, music, discussion draws every home into the vortex of art and current thought. Our newspapers and periodicals, our radios and television have annihilated the sense of separation. We all have access to the same things. We have untold opportunities of participation. The world has been given the physical integration which had to come before the development of the still more important spiritual integration.

This has been a contribution, made with initiative, resource, devotion, with an abounding energy and optimism rarely if ever duplicated by any generation. But I admit as I survey these achievements that young people who fall heir to them should not be expected to feel like dying for them. They are resplendent, but they do not evoke the deepest sense of need and gratitude. One would not die for a newspaper, not willingly, or for an automobile plant, or an airplane design, or for the stark beauty of that monument of a prosperous, mechanized America, the buildings that make up Rockefeller Center in New York. Nor have the other works of beauty of my generation been inspiring and enlisting. We have our literature, our painting, our contemporary music and verse, but we could, in necessity, dispense with them, as some men in times past could *not* dispense with their Scriptures and their psalms. The older generation has also spread before the new generation the riches of education, and done it lavishly, as in no other time in the long history of human society. Millions today have the equipment to understand the intricate complexities of this mechanized society. I do not say the education has been available to all, or has been always wise. The educational process is slow, but it is the only known process by which man does finally pull himself up by his bootstraps. Thus in appraising the older generation one must admit that it was not concerned wholly with mechanism. It had reverence for learning and beauty. It strove to make them accessible to all young people as their common right.

But the devotion and loyalty of young people to the world handed on to them has been weakened by two tremendous factors. One of these is the World War and its consequences. The other is our loss of our sense of personal validity. The second point I shall come back to later. The World War should have been the last great war and it wasn't. If the generation that fought it couldn't learn the lesson of that war, it was far too innocent and timid to deserve devotion and respect. The very first opportunity to organize peace that ever presented itself to a modern, almost integrated world came as the result of the World War. My generation botched the job. It not only botched it badly, but did it with sublime indifference, letting the strands of a golden opportunity slip through its hands without clutching at a single thread. But it was not an experienced world. Never had the organization of peace in a democratic civilization been faced, thought through, and understood. People had gone through a war, had detested it, had suffered death, desolation, poverty, and they believed that to resolve not to fight another war would be enough. They put war down as an evil in individual and national thought. They did not understand that war, whatever it may be in terms of evil, is simply the consequence of the breakdown of peace, and that peace is something that must be built, understood, practiced every day, wisely cultivated, constantly and consciously nourished.

It is the fashion today to decry the Treaty of Versailles and find in it the root of the present war. But that is superficial thinking. A treaty does not produce a war in a democratic world. There can be no great war in a democratic world in which peace is maintained with the same scrupulous opposition to lawlessness and the same devotion to justice as in the domestic life of a democratic nation. Peace is an international responsibility. Its maintenance is a function of a modern society. One cannot enjoy the fruits of freedom in a world made safe for democracy unless there is social organization to dispense justice and to curb lawlessness. The failure after the World War was not the Treaty of Versailles but the inadequacy of the organization of peace. That inadequacy was in the League of Nations, both in its constitution and in its membership. Before the League could work—and it was man's first experiment with an organized peace—old nations, with long memories of wars, had to be certain of their security. Lloyd George and Wilson undertook to guarantee France's security, as the precondition to the launching of the League. But Wilson's pledge was repudiated by the United States Senate, and this country was kept from membership in the League by a minority of the Senate. So the French entered the League determined to make it, not a new experiment in organized peace, but an instrument of security. Through the League the French nation of forty millions was to be kept as strong as the German nation of sixty-five millions. If the United States had joined the League, even with the reservations worked out in the Senate, France would have been secure, and the League might have grown from its imperfect beginnings into a workable system of peace. The origins of this war include the failure of the United States to understand that you can't have a democratic

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world unless you have organized a peace in which every free nation assumes its share of the responsibility.

I think the people of this country were ready to join the League. It is a myth that they weren't. If four men in the Senate had changed their votes, we should have entered, for those four men would have completed the two-thirds' majority needed. I don't think the people of this country realized in the election of 1920 that they were voting on the League. Harding promised them a society of nations, and the leading Republicans of the day—among them, Root, Hughes, Hoover—gave their indorsement to the Harding pledge. Only after the election was won was the public told that the League had been repudiated. And having been told so, it didn't stop to read the record and check the facts. Somehow membership in the League, and with it organized service for peace, eluded the people of this country.

The breakdown of peace didn't begin at once, not till 1931, when Japan invaded Manchuria. If we had been in the League, this hardly would have been dared. If Japan had not demonstrated that peace *could* be broken down in safety, Mussolini would not have dared the theft of Ethiopia, Hitler would not have dared the militarization of the Rhineland, the disarmament conferences would not have collapsed because of the growing sense of national insecurity. And the world would still be enjoying the blessings of peace. I say that the older generation fought the war and lost the peace. And the new generation must either fight the war now, as it is doing in Europe, or stand to fight it later. For there is no organization of peace today, no democratic world, no system of society where power is diffused so that no single man and no little oligarchy can drive men into conquest. Unless the Allies win, peace and freedom will be on the defensive in this nation for as long as the mind can foresee. There can be only two kinds of peace—the one imposed by concentrated power, the peace of tyranny, and the peace of a free society where power is vested in free individuals, and where justice and the observance of law are organized as a social function in which all bear their responsibility. Only if the younger generation has learned that, and will set out to find the peace that alone can be tolerable—peace in a free world—can it scorn the older generation for failing to find it.

I said above that there are two factors which make it hard for young people to treasure their immediate heritage. The loss of the peace is one of them. The other is the loss of the sense of personal validity. I suggest that more destructive than the mechanized equipment of the modern army have been certain branches of the modern so-called sciences of psychology and economics. They have produced a revolution in man's attitude to himself, and it has not been, like some revolutions, a constructive influence, though I think it will be in time. Fifty years ago it was fairly easy for a person to think things through and reach a conclusion that rang as clearly as a bell. Those were the days of intellectual security. And they are gone. In their place we have the overwhelming sense that nothing is what it seems to be. We distrust all outward evidences; we look in all corners for hidden motives; we know that nothing that man tells himself is quite so, nothing that he tells others is really dependable. We have found out that the human mind works in layers, that man's thought is molded by inscrutable influences of which he himself is unaware. The modern psychologist can demonstrate that one's subconscious life is the product of emotional influences, of patterns out of childhood or infancy, and that one's conscious thought is a counterfeit, which one tries to pass off on a suspicious world. The psychologist has destroyed man's faith in the other fellow's sincerity, and to some extent man's faith in his own sincerity.

The branch of economics in which the term economic determinism was developed has done for social thinking what psychology has done for individual thinking. We are told that society never acts as it does for the reasons it gives itself. History is just the result of economic motives which men have not recognized, and history is what it is, not because of these and those individual actions, but because vast impersonal forces have played upon men. Thus there can be no national policies; there are only sinister conspiracies working beneath the surface, against which the educated person can defend himself only by utter skepticism and indefatigable suspicion. Now I think that this conception has finished off everything handed on to the new generation by the old. Why should young men revere the values of such a world, acknowledge to their depths the dignity and beauty of individual life, and be grateful for that world, if need be to the point of sublime sacrifice?

But here again, the young have no right to scorn the confusion of the old unless they are keen and talented in rediscovering the validity of the individual. If they must question all outer semblances, have they learned to trust the *processes* of establishing truth, which can be demonstrated in the research laboratory and in the recesses of their own souls: trial and error, the humility to be wrong and the greatness to learn from being wrong, the faith *in there being truth?* Do they know that the truth lies within them or does not exist for them? That for each there is no truth save that of his own experience? And can they have faith in the process of their own lives by which they steadily become more free as they become more wise? And can they have faith in the process which makes society free, the democratic process, the process of social trial and error, in which all individuals share in the trials and errors and the accruing social insight?

To come back to Dr. Robert Ley and his definition of freedom in a totalitarian state. It will be recalled that

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this definition omitted the freedom to think and speak and to participate in the process of government. Only individuals who have lost faith in themselves and in their individual validity would accept such a disguised enslavement. If a man does not believe in the godhood that is in him, he is going to believe there is godhood in the dictator. If he is confused and suspicious, if he can't trust the processes of experience, if he can't rely on his own judgments, in humility but always in fervent faith, he is going to give himself up, abandon himself as a worthwhile possession, give himself by default to a national leader. Not having cared for responsibility, which is the other meaning of freedom, he will have thrown all the responsibility on the leader. And he will be secure, he will have no responsibility, but he will not be free. That is what it means to be a man or woman in a totalitarian state. It is a police state. You either believe what you are told to believe or you are purged.

In conclusion I would ask young people not to form a judgment of the times by looking too closely at what has been given them by the preceding generation. It is true that generation has not added much to freedom and has prepared people poorly to have faith in themselves. But we have a longer heritage. And the freedom that we possess and that young persons exercise with all the unconsciousness of good health came, not with the wind and rainfall, but out of human effort and anguish, out of great striving, great believing, and great sacrifice. Man was not always free. He did not always have the right to say, think, read what he pleased, or to have a responsible part in making and enforcing the laws to which he is subject. Men died for these things. And the soldiers of George Washington who went through the winter of Valley Forge liked the idea of dying, just as dying, no more than young men do today. They, and the men who founded this Republic, prized some things more than life itself. We are their heirs; they have no other heirs but ourselves. And if we can't be proud to be the heirs of our immediate parents, we can look farther back along the line of human endeavor and find cause to be grateful that we are free and that there were those willing to pay for that freedom. The ancestry is long, and men strove to be free, died to be free, long before Karl Marx depersonalized history with his partly true aphorisms about economic determinism, and long before Sigmund Freud made us aware of the complexities of thought processes. No label that can be glued over the freedom for which men have died can hide the reality of it. It *is* freedom. And it is *individual* freedom. They cared for it, and unless we care for it we are going to lose it.

Men Who Would Be President

IX. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

BY MAX LERNER

FROM the very beginning Franklin Roosevelt has been a crisis President, and there is little reason to suppose that he will cease to be President at a time when the crisis is deepest. This is bitter hemlock for reactionaries of every stripe to drink. But let us be clear at the outset: the chances are overwhelming that the next President of the United States will be that man now in the White House.

He will be there for four more years, not because he wants to, but because the people want him there. I don't need the Gallup or *Fortune* figures to prove it, although they do help confirm something we would know without them. The people want him there, not because the New Deal has been a success, or because we fear to swap horses while crossing a stream. For the first, there is the persistent fact of some eleven million unemployed and the extremes of wealth and poverty as accented as ever. And for the second, in a democracy the time when you are crossing a stream is exactly the time when you are forced to swap horses—if the horse you are riding is not much good. Only the Hitler *Blitzkrieg* availed to force Chamberlain out and Churchill in. And to steer close to a grim play on words, without the change of horses the large part of the British army which crossed the Channel back to safety in England would today be mingled with the soil of Flanders and France. The point is that, for the people's purposes today, Mr. Roosevelt is a good horse. And they know it.

That knowledge goes deeper than party politics, deeper than political and economic experience. It reaches down to the prerational stuff in us out of which symbols are fashioned. It is the surge of these impulses that has already as good as swept aside the third-term tradition. I do not mean to be mystical: the events which have made the President the only possible Democratic choice are clear enough. They are the war in Europe, the onward thrust of Nazi power, the new awareness of the revolution in war technology and of the nakedness of our defenses, the persistence of the world-wide forces out of which the Nazi revolution arose—all converging with

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the Presidential election. But this forms only the outer framework. Within it there have been our own inner tensions at work. With the crumbling of what had seemed the enduring bastions of the European order, our deepest political emotions have been released. I mean the blank fear of our failure to survive as a tolerably democratic society; and the urge toward group cohesion, which means in this era the urge toward national unity; and—so rare in a democracy—the desire to submit to a leadership great enough to match the great times; and, finally, the longing for a symbol at once of security and forward movement, of moderation and yet of aggressiveness.

Mr. Roosevelt comes closer to being such a symbol than anyone within our experience. Yet if he falls short of it—and how should he not?—measure by how much less he falls short than the other candidates. This is the ninth and last of *The Nation's* series on "Men Who Would Be President." It is only a few months that the series has been running. Yet, in comparison with Roosevelt's, how far away and archaic some of those names already seem in these post-May-10 days.Who was Garner? Was McNutt once taken seriously as Presidential timber? What graveyard crew will undertake to exhume Vandenberg and Taft? Was that Tom Dewey and Bert Wheeler that the Nazi tanks rolled over as they swept on to Paris? What are "Jedge" Hull's chances in a world that demands in its leaders, if not youth, then at least color and forcefulness? The fact is that Hitler and Stalin and Churchill now dominate our imaginations so monstrously, and the harsh age in which they have become leaders has so stretched our political horizons, that men of ordinary candidate stature seem puny. Roosevelt alone among the candidates can claim our attention as a leader-symbol alongside the Europeans.

Who will oppose him? It still requires, despite Dorothy Thompson, two to make an election. The Republicans, confronted by the clear probability of Roosevelt's nomination, have striven desperately to find the other man. But Roosevelt has had so big a lead that their hearts have simply not been in the effort. Even as I write, only a week before the opening of the Big Show at Philadelphia, there is a funereal air about the preparations. The only real candidate the Republicans have is Willkie, and—despite his being a former Democrat and a big public-utility man, both circumstances violating the outward political decencies—I would stake a good deal that he will be the choice. Willkie has brought novelty and freshness into Republican politics; his outward limitations have been in themselves challenges; he has known the value of mingling candor about his hopes with skepticism about his chances—an irresistible combination whether in a lover or a candidate. If it is Willkie who is picked to oppose Roosevelt in the election, it will not be a wholly uneven battle. For Willkie has middle-class "independent" appeal. His strategy will be to go along with Roosevelt on the intervention issue, but play himself up as the younger and stronger man for the war crisis. The theme will be a dual one: that the problem now is to organize American industry for defense, and to do it without embracing economic collectivism—and who could be more ideal for both purposes, we shall be asked, than a shrewd and successful utility executive? If Willkie is nominated, only Roosevelt can beat him. And there can be little doubt that he would.

What sort of President would Roosevelt make? This is not a whimsical question, despite our having had two terms of him. For he would be President in a world half lost to Nazism, in which whether we go to war or not we shall have a war economy and a political organization of concentrated powers. How does the Roosevelt we know look in the light of the new world we can only dimly discern?

The Roosevelt we know is a mirror of our own best energies, our own possibly fatal confusions. Perhaps because of that fact no one has yet taken the dimensions of the man in an enduring study. It is not that our writers lack the art, but that in the face of so elusive a figure they lack the confidence to use it. The political portraits, whether done in bile or saccharine, are dismal things. Emil Ludwig's full-length study was pretentious as well as inaccurate. But John Chamberlain, although working as usual within too limited a medium, has done a canny job in his last book in showing Roosevelt as a master tight-rope walker. And Harold Laski's forthcoming book, "The American Presidency," while in form a study of the Presidential office, is in effect a commentary on the most fateful American President.

I say "fateful" as applying both to the time itself and to the man's apprehension of it. Roosevelt has always had a sense of history. The well-worn story of his remark to newspapermen during the bank holiday of 1933—"I shall be either America's greatest President or its last"—is typical of a perspective few Presidents have had. One thing Roosevelt has said clearly: he has no intention of being another Buchanan. Which implies that all the basic conditions that characterize a country on the eve of civil war are true of our period. But to avoid being a Buchanan in the face of impending civil war one must be something of a Lincoln. How much of Lincoln does Roosevelt have in him? More, I am convinced, than any President since Lincoln or before. I know that in externals they are poles apart. In the one an easy graciousness, in the other a clumsy grace; the one modern, alert, cosmopolitan, and the other a backwoodsman even for his own day; the one aristocrat, the other plebeian. Yet the resemblances are real. Each of them managed somehow to catch the accents and express the aspirations of the ordinary people of his day. But beyond that and more important, each was forced by the exterior tension of

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events to complete an interior crisis out of which his real greatness emerged. Lincoln was a brooding man of thought whom the Civil War compelled to action. Roosevelt is a man of action whom the crisis of the depression years and the international collapse have compelled to thought. The more memorable figure is undoubtedly Lincoln, the more effective President probably Roosevelt.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Yet Roosevelt has not been effective on the crucial question of unemployment, which is America's dynamite dump. Nothing can be clearer than his failure to translate his own deepening perceptions and his generous sympathies into a working program. I need not spell out that fact here. What needs, however, to be said is that while Roosevelt will no doubt be linked in history with the pragmatic and piecemeal reforms of the New Deal, he is at once smaller and bigger than the New Deal. Smaller because the New Deal is not one man's creation but the product of mass aspirations. Bigger in the sense that his personal stature has survived the relative failure of the New Deal and the scattering of its battalions. It may not be rational but it is true that many would vote for Roosevelt who would reject most of his works. His Presidential tenure offers an uncanny perspective: here is a man who lost or had to compromise on most of his goals, yet he has emerged with prestige and popular appeal probably as great as ever.

But to the unemployed and the disinherited, to WPA workers, and to youngsters just out of school and without a job, it is scant consolation to have symbol without substance. They still cling to the Roosevelt banner, partly because Europe has become a word of fear and bewilderment, partly because a war economy might make jobs for them, mainly because they are still convinced that Roosevelt will somehow keep moving forward without revolution or dictatorship. In short, the Roosevelt following today more than ever is a following based on fear, faith, and expectation rather than works. Nor have these people ever really been taught either the elements of the Roosevelt achievement or the sources of the Roosevelt failure. They do not know the great forward stride made in the development of the administrative agency; few of them understand that the President managed somehow to resolve a great constitutional crisis; many are forgetting the solid achievements in the protection of the worker, the farmer, the investor against the more obvious harshnesses of capitalism on the decline. And as for the springs of failure, no one has pointed out to the people the role played by the opinion industries in bolstering every reactionary movement, by big-business sabotage, by the demoralizing anti-labor and anti-alien agitation, by the lack of audacity in genuine economic planning, by the failure to build enduring political support in a party realignment, by the crumbling of administrative morale.

When the people support a political leader through fear and faith, ignorant both of the sources of his past failure and of the conditions of his future success, that leader is in a dangerous position. He has as a politician encouraged expectations which as a policy-maker he will probably be unable to fulfil. I believe Roosevelt must know that. I think this insight, rather than the persistent rumors about physical exhaustion or some new ailment, goes far toward explaining the sense of tiredness the Administration conveys, and the very real and not feigned unwillingness of the President to stand for a third term. Being a political leader is at best one of the loneliest things in the world; but being one under the conditions Roosevelt has recently had to face must be desolating. Having to cajole a hostile and often stupid Congress and handle a bitter and sometimes venal press, having to mend political fences while building administrative structures, having to keep in sight the forest of national welfare despite the trees of special interests, having to see more clearly than most the logic and stakes of the international scene and finding oneself balked in translating that insight into foreign policy—all that does not make a President's lot a happy one.

I do not know whether Roosevelt himself is conscious that if his past role as President has been difficult, his future role as President would be even more so. Thus far he has relied mainly on two techniques. One has been the balancing of interests between various groups, always with an eye to getting out of the trading of gains and concessions as much as possible for the underprivileged. The second has been the alternation of periods of swift legislative and administrative advance with "breathing-spell" periods of consolidation. And usually there has been the understanding that even the best army is as weak as its officers, and therefore a concern for filling the key administrative posts with progressives. These standards seem now in process of abandonment. If gains have come out of the recent attempts to balance interests in Washington, they have not been for labor and the low-income groups. The last two years have been a long and continuous breathing-spell, with almost no advance toward economic planning or social legislation. And the key posts, especially in the new war-industry structures,

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are coming increasingly to be filled by men who can by no stretch be called New Dealers.

I think I can guess what rationale might be offered for these moves. The important thing, we might be told, is the supreme national effort in the international emergency; party lines and class lines must be transcended, and along with others the Administration must give up its pet preoccupations and its social hobbies; the new powers the government is getting in the national-defense economy are inherently mistrusted by the corporate capitalists, and their consent must therefore be wooed; when we have met the immediate emergency and can come back to interior problems, we shall have an administrative plant that is a going concern and can then be turned to the uses of economic democracy. And the New Deal can then go on to its most daring phase—of attempting to run a peace machine with the same efficiency and the same sense of national welfare that a war machine is run with.

I do not know that anyone in the Administration actually thinks this. I do know that the next President, if he is a liberal, will have to face the issue raised above. Mr. Roosevelt has always been a master of the strategic retreat. Perhaps the present New Deal doldrums fall under that category. But surely he must know that the world America faces in the next decade bears few resemblances to the world of the twenties or even of the thirties. He must know that whether we go to war or not we are already *at war* in the realest sense, because under any contingency we shall have to embark on a national-defense program which will channel from a third to a half of our national income into war preparations, reduce living standards and real wages, transform our economy into at least a semi-planned war economy, play ducks and drakes with our civil liberties, and sweep Latin America into the ambit of something approaching a good-neighbor imperialism. We have all been forced to grow up in the last months and can afford to call things by their right names. If, as seems increasingly clear, American survival depends upon such swift and heroic measures, I had rather have Mr. Roosevelt in the White House than anyone else who would stand a chance of being elected. (I assume Roosevelt has given up his hope of getting the political boys to accept Jackson or Douglas.) But I pray that it be a Roosevelt like the one who from 1934 to 1936 put through the basic program of New Deal social legislation, a Roosevelt who understands with Churchill that wars are never won by retreats and evacuations, no matter how brilliant. That applies to war on the social and economic fronts as well as the military. For there is as surely a world revolution today in economics and politics and social morale as there is in war technology, and the Liddell Hart defensive theory won't work in these areas any more than it did on the battlefields of Europe.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Foul Trade Winds

DESPITE the fact that America's foreign trade, as a whole, has greatly expanded since the outbreak of the war, importers and exporters are hardly a class to be envied. Never has their business been so blown upon by the winds of circumstance. Overnight whole groups of countries cease to be practicable markets and long-standing and reliable sources of supply are wiped out.

In the past seven days Italy has entered the war and France, its armies broken, has capitulated. Exactly what these stupendous events will mean in terms of trade cannot be foreseen as yet, for much will depend on whether Britain is able somehow to carry on the fight alone. Immediately, of course, there will be cancelation of the huge orders placed here by France for war goods, but most of this material is likely to be taken over by the British or by our own government. And with the increasing tempo of our defense program there will be no occasion for the industries which have been supplying the French to slow down. France, however, is temporarily closed as an outlet for agricultural products and other peace wares, and there is no substitute market in sight. At the same time we have to cope with the closure of the Mediterranean to our ships, which involves the effective stoppage of business with all the countries bordering that sea.

Under peace conditions the Mediterranean countries accounted for about 5 per cent of our total export trade, but in the first quarter of the current year, with other suppliers hindered by the war, they were buying at twice their normal rate. About 60 per cent of their purchases consisted of raw cotton, petroleum products, and iron and steel scrap. Italy, in particular, largely increased its takings of these strategic raw materials, which it was able to bring through the blockade thanks to the futile appeasement tactics followed by the Daladier and Chamberlain governments in the vain hope of detaching Mussolini from Hitler. Other important American exports to the region as a whole included wheat, apples and pears, automotive products, and machinery.

In 1939 the Mediterranean area consumed only 3.5 per cent of all American agricultural exports, but when this shrinkage is added to that suffered in Scandinavia and the Low Countries, it constitutes a severe blow to the producers of farm staples. Nor have they the same prospects of compensation in other directions as have many manufacturers. The lost market for American automobiles is being partially replaced by Allied orders for trucks and tanks; the makers of cotton cloth who can no longer sell to Greece or Turkey have new possibilities in Latin America, owing to the fact that Italian competition there is removed for the duration; oil companies expect a much larger demand from the Allies, who are now cut off from their Near Eastern resources. But where is a new market to be found for wheat, corn, or tobacco? Only the California fruit farmers can hope for some improvement in conditions. Early in the war they were hit by a cessation of British buying dictated by the

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necessity of saving both freight space and dollars. But Britain continued to obtain quantities of citrus fruits from Italy and Palestine and dried fruit from Turkey and Greece, and if it can still afford to buy such goods it may again turn here.

Our imports from Mediterranean countries have been considerably smaller than our exports, but they include certain strategic raw materials which we may have difficulty in replacing from other sources. An important part of our manganese supplies—essential for steel production—has been derived from Russia and shipped via the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Fortunately, we have something over a year's normal consumption in hand, and there is a deposit in Cuba, recently developed by the Freeport Sulphur Company, with an output of 100,000 tons annually. This, together with much larger deposits in Brazil, can provide half our annual needs, and we can still draw on supplies in South and West Africa. However, with Russia out of the market we shall have to pay a higher price for this essential mineral, and it is noteworthy that since Italy declared war ferro-manganese quotations have been raised 20 per cent. The situation with regard to mercury, which is indispensable for explosives and for anti-fouling paint for warships, is even more serious. Italy and Spain between them control a major part of the world's supplies, and even before the war spread, the price had soared sky high. As a result attempts are being made to reopen old, high-cost workings in California, and if these are successful, we may be able to supply our needs in part domestically. But it will be very expensive.

A third vital raw material from the Mediterranean war zone is chrome, also used widely as a steel alloy, of which we have hitherto imported substantial quantities from Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia. There are large alternative sources of supply in the Philippines and South Africa, but in this instance too a shift is likely to prove costly.

In this summary I have only picked out a few highlights to illustrate the changes in our overseas business wrought by Italy's plunge into war, but they are enough to explain why foreign traders get headaches. Unhappily there is no reason whatsoever to think that the war has now done its worst and that the situation will henceforth be stable. In view of the rate at which the German armies are advancing, we are bound to think immediately about the possibility of a Europe with which we could not trade at all except on Hitler's terms. Our merchants, who have had to adapt themselves to so many bewildering changes in the past few months, would then have to forget all their traditional ways of doing business and attempt to gear themselves into a barter economy. Moreover, if Hitler wins the war, we may well have to face a huge Nazi trade drive in Latin America. For political purposes it might be the German strategy to boycott the United States as far as possible, directing orders for foodstuffs and raw materials to our southern neighbors and offering them in return manufactured goods on terms with which we could not compete. As events are moving, it is in no way "alarmist" to visualize the possibility of developments along these lines and to consider ways and means to meet them. Our economic defenses are no less important than our military ones, and it is not too soon for business and government to get together and devise methods for strengthening them.

In the Wind

HENRY LUCE, chairman of Time, Inc., returned from Europe with a drastically altered view of things. For one thing, as *Life* has indicated, he is staunchly supporting F. D. R.'s foreign policy. Not yet made public is his change of heart concerning the 1940 campaign. He has informed staff members that he wants F. D. R. to run and will support him vigorously. (Russell Davenport abandoned the managing editorship of *Fortune* to boom Wendell Willkie.)

LAST WINTER the *Infantry Journal,* semi-official army magazine, prepared an article with an elaborate art spread on the modern German army. Before it was published, the picture lay-out was submitted to Hans Thomsen, counselor of the German embassy, for approval. Thomsen spotted three shots of Nazi parachutists in action and urged that they be eliminated as "not really very important—the emphasis should be elsewhere." The *Journal* took his word for it; its editors now think they missed the major scoop of World War II.

HEARINGS ON exceptions taken by the New York *Times* to a Labor Board decision affecting that newspaper's employees were held in Washington last week. Attorneys for the *Times* protested against an order directing reinstatement of an employee allegedly dismissed for his activity in the American Newspaper Guild. The employee, they argued, "now has a new and better job." He works for the Guild.

IN AN EDITORIAL on the conquest of Norway published on June 8, *Collier's* blamed not only fifth columnists but "class hatred," which had widened the split in Norwegian ranks. Taking this as a warning to the United States, it continued: "To neutralize class-hate peddlers we can carry on our efforts to raise American mass living standards." In the next editorial the following appeared: "The House is launching a five-member committee charged with looking into the alleged problem of migrant population. At the risk of seeming flint-hearted whatnots to people who have taken 'The Grapes of Wrath' to heart, we'll suggest that this committee not take its job too seriously."

SUPREME COURT JUSTICE DOUGLAS'S name remains close to the President's heart as the convention approaches. The rumor that Roosevelt favors him as his successor, reported in this column several weeks ago, has gained strength; and White House intimates believe that it is more than a trial balloon.

LABOR LEADERS, aroused by Thurman Arnold's prosecutions of union officials under the anti-trust laws, now call the Sherman Act the "Thurman Act."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

FOR the last time* I wish to write a few words about the new military policy of the United States—if one may dignify the mad rush to spend money for defense with the name of policy—words based upon a lifelong study of military affairs in America and in some parts of Europe. The present drive for arms, which *The Nation* now so whole-heartedly espouses, is based obviously on the theory that sooner or later we shall have to fight the dictators who have at this moment apparently won the war in France—I am sure that they cannot win in the long run. If that is the prospect before us, then what we are doing amounts to nothing at all. Hitler has achieved his victories by creating literally a nation in arms, in which every single phase of industrial and economic life is subordinated to the military machine. If the Allies are now losing this war, it is because they failed to do the same thing, failed to sacrifice democracy, freedom of the press, the right to criticize the government, personal liberty, to arming so that they could successfully fight the dictators in their own way. If we are to have any hope of success in the military field against these same dictators, Hitler and Mussolini, we too must go the whole hog. It will mean farewell to democracy. But that does not appall a great many Americans. They are so certain of the menace of victorious dictators abroad that they are willing to have this Republic go down fighting.

In order to compete with Hitler and Mussolini, if they survive five or ten years longer, which I for one do not expect, we shall want universal military service. Since Hitler makes his boys serve six months in a work camp and two years in the army, ours, in order that we may have better soldiers, should work nine months in a labor camp and spend two and a half years in the army. An officer of the General Staff in Washington who is giving special attention to anti-aircraft guns told me a year ago that America was not rich enough to buy the anti-aircraft guns needed to protect our 7,000 miles of coast from air raids, to say nothing of defending Alaska and Hawaii and the Panama Canal. That is of course nonsense. If we are going to plan to beat Hitler in the Hitler way, then the United States will certainly raise the money to protect itself. We should have one anti-aircraft gun for every ten feet of our 7,000-mile coast, and we should have thousands of them protecting our cities, as I saw them protecting factories and even apartment houses in the Ruhr last fall. We should have at least five times as much coast defense as now and make it fifty times as efficient. Our regular army should comprise at least 2,600,000 men, aside from the aviation forces, which already are to be brought up to 1,600,000 under the Roosevelt program. We ought, indeed, to go farther and make America really air-minded; no American boy physically capable of flying should be given the right to vote on coming of age unless he could prove on registering that he was a certified pilot or trained to enter the ground force, in addition to having served his two years with the colors. That should make Hitler sit up.

As for the navy, I still believe in the defense afforded us by the Atlantic Ocean, but as the masters of America no longer do, it is obviously ridiculous to talk of a two-ocean fleet. It should be a five-ocean fleet if we are to sleep comfortably at night and not in terror of Hitler. How otherwise could we ward off Hitler if he suddenly appeared off the Chilean coast with 2,000 bombers and a fleet composed of the German, French, British, Italian, Danish, and Norwegian warships, plus the Swedish probably? It would be manifestly impossible for our Pacific fleet, if it were then as now protecting Hawaii and Samoa from the Japanese, to get to Chile in time to prevent its subjugation in a *Blitzkrieg*. So we ought to have a great fleet in the South Atlantic and one in the South Pacific, one in the North Atlantic and one in the North Pacific, and a fifth based on Greenland and Iceland, for of course we should annex those islands promptly if we are going in for 100 per cent defense. Finally, we should train 2,000,000 women annually to protect us from parachutists, fifth-column workers, and labor malcontents; of these women many should naturally be trained for ambulance and hospital work.

I hope no one who is really militaristic now and determined to defeat Hitler will object to this program on the ground that the cost will be prohibitive. That argument will not weigh with Mr. Roosevelt, who has never allowed his policies to be affected by any financial consideration whatsoever. And don't pay any attention to anybody who may remind the President that at Buenos Aires he said that arming "builds no permanent structure and creates no consumer goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity," and that "nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors, or when an unsound economy like a house of cards will fall apart." Times were different then.

* Mr. Villard's last regular contribution to *The Nation* will appear next week.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Empire and Peace

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. ITS STRUCTURE, ITS HISTORY, ITS UNITY, ITS STRENGTH. By Stephen Leacock. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.

GREAT BRITAIN. EMPIRE IN TRANSITION. By Abert Viton. The John Day Company. $3.

THE QUEST FOR PEACE SINCE THE WORLD WAR. By William E. Rappard. Harvard University Press. $4.

THERE is a definite need for books on the British Empire. The average reader has fewer misconceptions of National Socialist Germany, of the Soviet Union, or of Latin America than he has of the role and nature of the British Empire. These two recent additions to the literature on the subject will therefore be welcome. They are written from different points of view and by men widely different in age and origin; nevertheless, the conclusions at which they arrive are not so far apart.

Professor Stephen Leacock, best known to the broad public as a humorist, surveys the achievements of the British Empire with the love of a Canadian proud of the traditions within which he lives, and with the mellow wisdom of a man matured by study and thought and a rich sense of humor, rare in scholars. His book is packed with material, but it is presented in a form easily digested by the general reader. Mr. Viton's book is much more detailed and more critical. It is written by a young scholar who looks at the British Empire from the outside and sometimes with the eyes of the races under imperial control, but it is a solid achievement, based on reliable research and on years of first-hand observation in parts of the world under British influence or domination. The reader will learn much from both books, although he may disagree with certain passages in both: with Mr. Leacock because he sometimes understates the dark side of British rule, a side which every earthly rule must have; with Mr. Viton, not because his criticisms are unfounded, but because they sometimes overlook the specific conditions of time and environment. Mr. Viton's book is on the whole to be highly recommended to the student and to the general reader as the most recent and most comprehensive guide to the intricate problems of the British Empire.

Of special value are its excellent last chapters, in which the author discusses the present situation and the prospects of the empire with a deep insight into its nature and its changing character. Most of the critics of the British Empire of 1930 speak of it as if it were still the empire of 1890. Many people are so fascinated by the past that they do not recognize the deep changes going on at present and do not understand the new forces and tendencies which are changing the situation so completely that slogans valid in 1914 have not only lost their meaning in 1940 but are becoming positively dangerous to thought and action. Mr. Viton's book has additional value at the present time in that it will help the reader to arrive at a clear understanding of the world situation. It was the Pax Britannica which in the long century starting in 1815 made possible the development of demands for self-government and the growth of liberal ideas among the colored races of the earth. It was the Pax Britannica which furnished the shield behind which Norway and the Netherlands and Portugal could lead an independent and peaceful existence and the Americas feel safe and maintain the Monroe Doctrine at very little cost or risk.

For in a world as united as this planet has become since 1815 peace cannot exist without some leadership. The question is today whether this leadership is to be exercised, as Professor Leacock proposes, by America, Great Britain, and France, or by Germany in collaboration with Japan. There is no doubt that not only most of the smaller European peoples, but also the Indians, the Chinese, the Arabs, and the Turks, as well as the Africans, prefer for very understandable reasons leadership of the former type. The tragedy of the present situation is that after 1918 the British and the Americans were not willing to assume the responsibilities of world leadership. That is the reason why the "quest for peace" of which Professor Rappard has written has ended in failure.

Professor Rappard tells the same story as Professor Toynbee told in his "Surveys of International Affairs," or Professor Schuman in his "Europe on the Eve," but he tells it in a different way, preferring understatements; nevertheless, his indictment is as strong as theirs. His book is the work of a scholar and will be indispensable to the scholar who looks for a documented discussion of the last twenty years; the general reader will probably content himself with reading the last thirty pages of the volume—but these he should read. They sum up in a cool and judicious way the tragedy of the last twenty years, of the lack of leadership, courage, and insight on the part of the democracies. In 1919 freedom had made bold and unexpected conquests. The generation which had achieved 1919 was unable or unwilling to live up to its own ideals. How this happened is told in Chapter VI, A Retrospect and a Prospect, briefly and concisely.

HANS KOHN

Health and the State

HEALTH IS WEALTH. By Paul de Kruif. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

IN THIS collection of essays, most of which were published in the *Country Gentleman,* de Kruif's thesis is that health is not only "the fifth human right of citizens"—along with food, clothing, shelter, and fuel—but a vital concern of the state because it costs the nation more to let people stay sick than to keep them well. He believes this is strikingly evident to anyone who examines the statistics, and he feels, therefore, that it is a colossal tragedy that an issue should have arisen between groups of men with a common purpose. Although not himself a physician, he seems to understand the psychology of physicians, and does not once

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impugn their idealism, ability, or integrity. He feels that it is absurd to propose legislation which depends upon the co-operation of physicians for its success but antagonizes them by its spirit.

He believes, although he does not explicitly acknowledge this, that the real obstacle to carrying out any far-reaching program of public health is not the ignorance but the indifference or the uncritical enthusiasms of the public. He therefore appeals to the public in these essays, calling attention to the enormous unnecessary waste of human life and outlining practical ways of salvaging it through better application of the continuing accomplishments of medical science. Following the lead of Surgeon General Parran, the vote of the American Medical Association's House of Delegates approving an immediate health bill, and the proposals of the Michigan State Medical Society for a non-controversial national health program, he outlines a compromise plan to which probably few doctors would make serious objection.

De Kruif is wise enough to recognize that there are basic difficulties not referable to the stupidity and greed ascribed by some authors to the doctors. With an almost pathetic dignity he registers the bitter disappointment he himself experienced on two occasions. On December 13, 1939, after being chosen to confer with the President on a very carefully worded non-controversial health program, he was told that this was not the time to begin it. And his earlier articles in the *Country Gentleman* received such a negligible response that he asked himself, "What's wrong with the way those stories were written? Why didn't they click? Was the psychology wrong: talking of life and death in terms of dollars, and really meaning it? . . . Did anybody getting indignant about the money-waste of death really become more enthusiastic for life, more sentimental about it?"

There is an answer to these questions which would shed light on the whole problem, but it is an answer which one hesitates to give. It is related to a fundamental defect in all public-health proposals, including even the tempered, thoughtful program recorded by de Kruif. I refer to the fact that medical science has not yet fully assimilated psychology as a basic science. De Kruif himself is a bacteriologist, an ultra-empiricist, who naively and enthusiastically believes that the problems of physical health are something like those of automobile manufacturing, and can be settled by a proper application of physics, chemistry, administrative efficiency, and common sense. The psychological factors in disease and in the healing process, in the wish to be cured and in the wish to heal, do not enter into his calculations. If they did, he would realize that doctors have certain objections to the proposed changes which their lack of psychological education prevents them from verbalizing in any convincing way but which have great validity. Most doctors know that many persons have toward doctors an unconscious hostility which is dissolved in the moment of necessity for their aid but recurs as soon as health is reestablished. The conviction of the validity of science, which is basic for de Kruif, is by no means a guiding principle in the lives of most human beings. This is one thing which makes doctors skeptical of the assumption that it is only necessary to make medical service cheap, if not actually free, for all people to rush in and be scientifically treated for whatever ails them.

"Knocks into a cocked hat most of the histories of our time."
—GEORGE SELDES

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Philosophies of STRUGGLE

Waldo Frank until his recent resignation a contributing editor of *The New Republic,* voices a warning against the seeds of fascism which lie close to the surface of the American scene, and an impassioned appeal that the will to freedom become an articulate force in the fight to preserve this country's democratic heritage.

●

Max Lerner author of *Ideas Are Weapons,* develops a challenging theory of the war and America's relation to it. Cutting through the arguments of isolationists and interventionists, he analyzes the impact of the present revolutionary changes in Europe on American democracy.

●

Reinhold Niebuhr traces the collapse of contemporary social utopianism as revealed in four letters which the day's post brought to him. Against it he sets the common sense view of common folk whose sound political instincts will guarantee the survival of just values.

●

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On the other hand, it is also true that doctors frequently tend to identify themselves with God. Historically the medicine men were priests with supposed supernatural powers, and it is easy for some physicians to revert to a tacit acceptance of this role. To have the privilege of making benefactions taken from them and turned into a matter of public support hurts them as badly as does impugning their technical ability. All these ideas are far outside the content of the present book. They are connected rather with certain fundamental philosophical problems which most writers in this field consistently ignore.

The reviewer is not competent to examine critically the specific merits and defects of de Kruif's program. His honesty, his lack of bitterness, his sensible attitude toward the sensitiveness of the medical profession commend the book to readers interested in the problem. On the negative side de Kruif at times overrates certain new ideas; conservative physicians know of the disappointment which such strong indorsement is bound to produce. Also he dismisses health insurance a little too abruptly, ignoring the possibility that it has some preventive value. It is not quite accurate to assume, as he does, that opposition to organized medicine comes only from labor groups and social-service enthusiasts, many physicians themselves are dissatisfied with the economic complications bound up with its extension. Some who have studied the Wagner bill believe that de Kruif does not do it justice in his account of it here. Finally, the list of medical authorities and associates to whom he refers with rather extravagant praise is certainly not a very wide or very representative list.

In spite of these things, however, the book is valuable because it gives further ventilation to an important social and scientific problem which deserves the thoughtful attention of every American at a time when the welfare of our nation must be supported from within as well as from without.

KARL MENNINGER

Discovering Canada

CANADA: AMERICA'S PROBLEM. By John MacCormac. Viking Press. $2.75.

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S hint that the center of the British Empire might be shifted to the New World focuses attention on the issues covered in this provocative volume. Even at the present time, according to Mr. MacCormac, Canada makes isolation impossible for the United States. The Monroe Doctrine virtually commits the United States to resist any attack on Canada by a European power, a pledge which has been explicitly reaffirmed by President Roosevelt. Yet Canada, as part of a political system having its center adjacent to Europe, is already deeply involved in Europe's war. It is serving as the chief training ground for empire aviators and is providing a large proportion of the empire's war equipment. Should it become the political center as well, American isolationism could no longer exist. Since we dare not allow Canada to fall into the hands of a hostile power, we are committed, in effect, to the support of one of Europe's belligerents.

Mr. MacCormac rightly points out that Americans as a

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whole know surprisingly little about this northern neighbor who so seriously compromises their neutrality. The United States has never taken Canada seriously. Prior to the war there was less Canadian news in the average American newspaper than news about China, and such items as appeared were usually of a trivial nature. The war has changed this to a degree, but most Americans have still but the sketchiest of ideas about the background of Canada's present-day political and economic conditions. To such persons' needs the present volume is admirably suited. Although it examines the fundamental problems that the war has created in Canadian-American relations, it is not primarily either a war book or a study of international relations. Rather it is a brilliantly written Canadian handbook covering all aspects of Canadian life—with almost equal emphasis on the political and the economic. The chapters on the Dominion's economic resources and prospects are especially startling to an American, but they appear to be accurate and dependable. In Mr. MacCormac's judgment Canada could provide for a population of 60,000,000, though the extent of its prosperity would depend largely on the maintenance of relatively free world trade.

Canada's economic potentiality is of particular importance in view of the Nazi threat to Great Britain. While it is difficult to picture the mass emigration of millions of English workers and their families to Canada, a very considerable influx may occur. Such immigrants would bring with them highly developed industrial skills and a certain amount of capital. Some of the remaining capital needed could be obtained in Canada, but the greater part would presumably be provided by the United States. Thus while Canada's political link with the empire would be greatly strengthened, its economic ties with the United States would also be reinforced. How this paradox will ultimately be resolved Mr. MacCormac does not predict. Outright annexation by the United States is rejected on the ground that most Canadians are, above all, loyal to the Crown, though it is hinted that the United States may be forced to adopt an imperialist policy if Germany wins the war. Reading between the lines, it would seem that Mr. MacCormac foresees an ultimate Anglo-Saxon Union embracing the United States, its possessions, and the self-governing dominions now associated in the British Commonwealth of Nations. A further examination of this possibility, in all its implications, would have made this volume more provocative, but would not have added appreciably to the body of significant and useful information which it so ably presents.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Biography of a Mind

THE REAL BERNARD SHAW. By Maurice Colbourne. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.75.

THOSE who saw the second act of Shaw's "Geneva" before it closed in New York will remember the remarkable "Hitler" played by Maurice Colbourne. Once upon a time Mr. Colbourne also impersonated Shaw, which would be enough to prove his versatility, even if we did not have before us his entertaining and thoughtful book on the more amiable of the two originals.

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style and plan of the work must on the contrary be likened to the light seriousness characteristic of the subject himself Mr. Colbourne easily achieves that tone which comes from self-possession no less than from possession of one's facts, and which is to academic solemnity what a steel suspension bridge is to a cast-iron stove. "The Real Bernard Shaw" is consequently the first book to deal with Shaw as one trusts that posterity will deal with him—critically, sympathetically, and telescopically: I mean, as if he were already among the Immortals that inhabit the star Sirius, striding about between Voltaire and Swift, perhaps, but speaking a language of his own, clear and distinct despite the interval of (equally) light years.

Mr. Colbourne's chapter headings sufficiently reveal his method and his views. I choose at random: Critic, Dramatist, Is Bernard Shaw Conceited? Has Bernard Shaw Changed? A Religious Man, Economist, Program. This simplicity and directness permeates the discussion of all the great issues raised by Shaw, and infallibly results in the reader's being refreshed, reoriented, and instructed about the man who owns the most comprehensive brain on this planet and has worked it hardest and longest. Let us hope the reader of the book likewise remains permanently weaned from the desperate clichés invented fifty years ago by dramatic critics—the notion that Shaw is all talk though "Candida" shows what he could have done if he really had set his mind on writing plays; and the notion that Shaw is a trifler in ideas who has spent an extraordinarily active life standing on his head in order to advertise himself as better than Shakespeare.

The only drawback to Mr. Colbourne's pioneer attempt is that he overdoes the simplicity, and in trying to woo his readers, makes too many concessions about his subject. This may in fact account for his contradicting himself on important points. At the outset he tells us that Shaw has made the mistake of writing too much. He must be figuratively boiled down for convenience. Yet later on Shaw's four million words are salvaged and placed, quite rightly, in the great corpus of Western literature. Again at the outset Shaw is represented as an unpassionate man with a strong animus against all that is "romantic"—whatever that word may mean. Farther on the plays are admirably proved to embody an infallible sense of how men of opposite tempers actually feel. *All* the characters in Shaw's plays are in the right; which is of course the simplest definition of drama and the widest expression of perceptive feeling.

Moreover, although Mr. Colbourne has read an enormous amount of Shaw—he is often able to expound his author in a sort of echo of Shaw's own words—he has not read or remembered quite enough. Shaw's views on love, on evolution, on socialism, on art for art's sake are thereby slightly distorted in the retelling. I could wish also that Mr. Colbourne were not so militantly against "the nineties" or "the romantics" as to caricature them for Shaw's supposed benefit. But these limitations do not hold a large enough place in the present work to mar it. It remains in spite of them a beautifully balanced biography of a mind. The only fear I have in praising it is that, following his actor-author, impersonator-biographer precedent, Mr. Colbourne will next give us "The Real Adolf Hitler" or "The Real Happy Hypocrite."

JACQUES BARZUN

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IN BRIEF

TREES OF HEAVEN. By Jesse Stuart. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

The author of "Man with a Bull-Tongue Plow" and "Head o' W-Hollow" tells a fragrant, earthy tale of farm folk in the Kentucky hills, where judges perch their feet on the courtroom desk and plaintiff and defendant (and their families) frequently fight it out after the verdict. "Trees of Heaven," however, runs a smooth, idyllic path with no bloodshed; even hard-handed old Anse Bushman finally learns to tolerate a shiftless squatter family, and his son marries their purty gal.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. With Sayings of Poor Richard, Hoaxes, Bagatelles, Essays, and Letters. Selected and Arranged by Carl Van Doren. Pocket Books. 25 cents.

The noted biographer of Franklin has arranged selections from his writings, including several items never before printed in a popular selection, so as to outline Franklin's whole career in his own words. The Autobiography is unabridged. The book is worth a great deal more than its price.

ETHAN ALLEN. By Stewart H. Holbrook. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

This lively biography of the lusty hero of Ticonderoga has the advantage of being written by a Vermonter whose forbears were contemporaries of the Green Mountain boys. Mr. Holbrook has made a thorough study of the records, but the book is so "lively," the author's language so colloquially modern, the incidents so "realistic" that the total effect is of something acted by Spencer Tracy.

TIXIER'S TRAVELS ON THE OSAGE PRAIRIES. Edited by John Francis McDermott. Translated from the French by Albert J. Salvan. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.

Volume IV of the "American Exploration and Travel" series, this book is the first English translation of the journal of a young French physician who traveled up the Mississippi in 1840. His experiences included a summer passed with the Osage Indians while they were on their buffalo hunt. So interested in all he saw that he hardly mentions himself, he gives a closely observed description of the Indian country and customs, illustrated by some of his own drawings, and an account of life on the Creole plantations. The book was well worth republishing in English.

A QUAKER CHILDHOOD. 1871-1888. By Helen Thomas Flexner. Yale University Press. $3.

The Baltimore of 1871-88 is the background of Mrs. Simon Flexner's story of the large Quaker family of which she was a member; an older sister was M. Carey Thomas, the late president of Bryn Mawr. In essence the book recalls Gosse's classic "Father and Son," to which it is certainly not inferior in emotional interest, though the situations are somewhat different. The gentle reminiscences, simply and directly rather than nostalgically presented, are overshadowed by the compelling story of mother and daughter.

PERSIAN PAINTING. Miniatures of the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries. With an Introduction by Basil Gray. Oxford University Press (Iris Books). $2.75.

The brief Introduction and Notes combine essential information with art criticism of a high order. The twelve color plates, cleverly chosen to highlight epochs and painters, are not only beautiful but greatly superior as reproductions to those in far more expensive publications in which some of the same subjects are to be seen.

FILMS

NONE of the major movie companies dared to touch the Pulitzer prize play "Our Town" by Thornton Wilder. Sol Lesser, an independent producer, had the courage to attempt a movie version and succeeds with it to a high degree. If the picture, in spite of its general excellence, is not what it aspires to be or could be, the reason seems to rest rather with the limited scope of the original and with the shift from a tragic to a happy ending. The impact of the story is thereby lost.

There is, of course, no objection to changes which become necessary in the course of the transformation of a stage production into a picture. On the contrary. The camera, with its freedom of space and action, quite naturally demands such changes. The mere photographing of a stage production never makes a good picture however fine the original may have been. But in this case the insertion of a happy ending has nothing to do with the fact that the film is a different medium but only with the circumstance that the movies are a different business. In the film Emily survives her second childbed; we hear the newly born son cry and see the doctor slap his backside. The whole third act of the original—the cemetery scene and Emily's return to life for a day—has been transformed into a fever fantasy. What Thornton Wilder dreamed and made real to a certain extent, the small-town girl now conceives. This shift in authorship is unconvincing and is probably one of the deeper reasons why in the film the cemetery scene strikes one as false. An otherwise excellent and very ingenious production fails here at an essential point.

Forgetting Jed Harris's scenery-less stage production, the director, Sam Wood, moves the camera about freely in the little New Hampshire town and captures its everyday moods with unerring precision. We see everything through the eyes of the town druggist, who functions as the commentator of the original play. Frank Craven plays the part on the screen as he did on the stage—superbly. The playing of Martha Scott, also of the stage production, is simple yet full of nuances, establishing her as a coming star but pointing at the same time to another weakness of the picture—a sweetening of the wedding scene which gives almost no emphasis to the original satirizing of the conventions and mediocrities of the small town. The many smaller parts are played by a competent cast. In addition, Mert Glennon's photography and Sam Wood's interesting and often successful experimentation with a new technique of story-telling make "Our Town" the outstanding movie of recent months; and the enterprise as a whole represents a courageous break with many taboos of the great industry.

"Brother Orchid" (Warner Brothers) is a routine gangster picture with the semi-new twist that the gangster is converted and becomes a brother in an order of monks devoted to growing flowers. This sounds more terrible than the film really is. Nevertheless, to see Edward G. Robinson, after his great performance as Dr. Ehrlich, in such a conventional role is a painful experience.

"Edison, the Man" (MGM) is a picture similar to "Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet" in so far as the formula is concerned, but it has less force and is less dramatic because the obstacles Edison had to overcome seem mere trifles in

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comparison with the forces of reaction which Dr. Ehrlich encountered. The production is elaborate, and there is suspense in the re-creation of the long process of the invention of the electric bulb. Spencer Tracy as Thomas Edison is effective and heart-warming, though a deeper understanding of the great inventor seems to be missing in his interpretation as in the whole script. Edison cannot have been so mediocre as all that.

FRANZ HOELLERING

RECORDS

THE Victor Black Label Classics ($1 for the twelve-inch record, $.75 for the ten-inch) are mostly old recordings previously withdrawn from the catalogue, but also include two recent recordings now issued for the first time. They are not, then, analogous to the book publishers' "reprints of standard works at lowered prices" which Victor refers to; for the new ones are not reprints and the old ones are not standard works. The value in a set of records is not only in the music but in the performance—which may mean only the name of the performer—and in the quality of the recording. Performances and recording make Stokowski's early set of Beethoven's Seventh and Toscanini's of Mozart's "Haffner" still valuable today—still standard items; and if Victor were now, after all these years, to issue them as Black Label Classics it would be doing what a publisher does when he issues a cheap reprint of "The Magic Mountain." Actually the Black Label reissues are sets that were withdrawn to make room for better ones—bigger-name performances, improved recording; and the less than standard price is for less than standard value. There are people with limited budgets who will not object to this, and who will only want to know whether the value is enough even for the lower price.

To consider the new recordings first: Bruno Walter's performance (G-9, $3.25) makes the first movement of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony highly effective, but his unsteadiness of pace—especially evident in the first measures—does the second movement no good. The set has the fidelity but also some of the reverberation of Walter's recordings with the Vienna Philharmonic, and not complete clarity. With its virtues and faults it is, however, certainly good value for the price. Goossens's set of Tschaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite (G-5, $3.25) is the one I would recommend of this work, for its simple performance and clear recording.

As for the reissues, Coates's performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" and the recording (G-2, $6.25) are atrocious. The recording of Tschaikovsky's Fifth (G-4, $6.25) has more clarity and fidelity to tone color, but no greater volume for *fortissimo* than for *piano*, so that climaxes sound as though one were looking at them through the wrong end of an opera glass; and Stock's monkey-business with tempo makes hash of the music. Abendroth's leaden-footed performance of Brahms's Fourth (G-7, $6.25), the finest of Brahms's symphonies, makes it a very dull work; and the deficiency in highs, in the recording, produces faulty balance and obscures some of the texture. One does better to pay $7.50 for the superb Columbia set made by Weingartner. The recording of Mozart's G minor (G-3, $3.25) is quite satisfactory, especially on a machine that can boost the treble a lot; but here again Stock indulges in the tasteless monkey-business with tempo; and the New York *Post* and the National Committee for Music Appreciation offer a much better set for an even lower price (the Black Label side of the third movement has a repetition and an objectionable cut that were not on the corresponding Red Seal side). The set of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony (G-8, $4.25) offers clear recording of a good performance by Panizza, but nothing comparable with the marvelous Koussevitzky version at $6.50.

Single records offer clear recording of Artur Rubinstein's excellent performances of Brahms's Capriccio Opus 76 No. 2 and Debussy's "Cathédrale engloutie" (36289, $1); slightly dim recording of Paderewski's performance of Chopin's Polonaise Opus 26 No. 2, which I consider ineffective (36288, $1); clear recording of Barbirolli's performance with chamber orchestra of Mozart's "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" (36283/4, $2)—good except for a tasteless burst of speed in the middle of the slow movement, which leads me to suggest paying an additional dollar for the two Bruno Walter Victor records without album; dim recording—unless one can boost the treble—of Stock's adequate performance of Dvorak's "Carnival" Overture (36290, $1), in place of which I recommend Harty's Columbia record at $1.50; not too clear recording of Casals's good performance of Beethoven's "Coriolanus" Overture (36291, $1; my sample had two B sides), in place of which I recommend Boult's Victor record at $1.50; and clear recording of several vocal performances of varying merit: Toti dal Monte's version of the Mad Scene from "Lucia," which is quite good (36285, $1); Matzenauer's of "Ah! mon fils!" from "Le Prophète," which suffers from a strong tremolo, and "Mon coeur" from "Samson," in which the voice is steady and opulent (36287, $1); and Jeritza's version of the Finale of "Tristan" (26567, $.75) and Ina Souez's of "Casta Diva" from "Norma" (36286, $1), in both of which the tremolo is excessive.

Among the better jazz performances of recent months have been the Muggsy Spanier "Black and Blue" and "Dinah" (Bluebird 10682) and the Basie Orchestra "Easy Does It" (Columbia 35448). And there is exciting piano-playing by Earl Hines in "Boogie Woogie on St. Louis Blues" (Bluebird 10674) and by Bob Zurke in "Tea for Two" (Victor 26561). Of the Decca Chicago Jazz Album only two records turned out well: "Bugle Call Rag" and "Sister Kate" (18044) and "Darktown Strutters' Ball" and "I've Found a New Baby" (18045), both made by George Wettling's Chicago Rhythm Kings "Wettling," someone observed grimly, "was always what you would call a good loud drummer"; and it is the rest of the group—notably Jess Stacy, Charlie Teagarden, and Floyd O'Brien—who are important in these performances.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Friendly Redcap Service

Dear Sirs: The railroads of America have taken cover under the protective mantle of the fair minimum-wage law, and consternation and gloom have entered the hearts of more than 7,000 redcaps from Seattle to Maine.

Redcaps had their day in court when a suit was brought by the Wage-and-Hour Board against the Cincinnati Union Terminal. Just before this case came to trial, the Cincinnati Union Terminal officials decided that redcaps should be made to charge a flat rate of 10 cents an article—whether the article were a hundred-pound trunk or an umbrella. Each article was to be tagged with company seals in lieu of receipt checks, and all moneys collected in a redcap's eight-hour tour of duty were to be turned over to the company, which in turn would pay the bag-carriers the lowest wage permissible under the minimum-wage law—$2.40 a day.

At the trial the defense pointed out and satisfactorily proved that redcaps were now being paid salaries. This made the complainant's case fall flat. Big business had defeated, temporarily at least, the Wage-and-Hour Board.

Immediately after this ruling the Amalgamated Railroads of America followed the Cincinnati Terminal's example, and pamphlets littering every seat in passenger railroad cars informed the traveling public that a uniform charge of 10 cents per bag or parcel would soon be made. The reasons given for the change were that it would (1) improve and standardize redcap porter service; (2) place all redcaps upon a regular and uniform wage basis, (3) substitute a fixed-payment plan for the irregularity and inequality of tipping. These reasons were listed under the caption: "Your Friendly Redcap Service," but it is hard to conceive how a panting redcap, carrying a couple of eighty-pound bags two city blocks to the nearest taxicab, can cherish friendly feelings toward mankind when he knows that 20 cents is all that will be handed to him and that that will be for the company.

In small towns the minimum wage might serve the porter, but in the larger cities it entails untold hardships. In New York City's Harlem, for instance, where the burden of high rents presses more unbearably upon the tenant than in any other section of the United States, such a salary would not be as adequate as home relief. Moreover, out of this minimum wage a monthly average of $3 for retirement-tax and insurance premiums is taken, and from time to time uniforms must be replaced.

In the new set-up the companies are prepared to pay additional salaries to well-tried and seasoned "company-men"—that is, porters who eschew organization and indorse the status quo.

Willing and efficient service from redcaps is what the American traveling public is accustomed to receive. Since it is evident that under the new set-up this service must be impaired, the public should make every effort to obtain the repeal of this oppressive enactment.

New York, June 10 A REDCAP

Answering the Progressives

Dear Sirs: I feel compelled to answer several assertions made by the misnamed "progressives" in a letter which appeared in your correspondence columns on June 8.

In reference to the meeting of the State Committee of the American Labor Party which was held on April 13 in New York, it is well to bear in mind that Herman Hoffman, well-known New York attorney, acted as unofficial impartial supervisor by consent and agreement of both parties. Mr. Hoffman is the same person so lavishly praised by the so-called "progressives" after he supervised a meeting of the New York County Committee of the American Labor Party on February 29, at which meeting they won. This time they lost, and Mr. Hoffman has now been subjected to a typical Communist smear drive. Mr. Hoffman's report shows that on the roll-call vote for state chairman of the American Labor Party Mr. Antonini won by 406 votes to 303 for Watson. Similarly the claim that the "progressives" secured a majority vote in the primaries is obvious nonsense.

As to the court victories won by the "progressives," the truth of the matter is that in every action, four in all, started against the officers of the State Committee of the American Labor Party, the "progressives" lost their case.

Concerning the sum spent in the primary campaign, the Liberal and Labor Committee to Safeguard the Labor Party had nothing to hide. It fully reported the sums received from affiliated unions of the Labor Party which had supported the party in the past and were determined to prevent Communist control. Although the Progressive Committee, on the other hand, may have been technically within the law in filing a statement showing expenditures of approximately $4,000, this sum represents only a fraction of the amount actually spent for its campaign. It does not include, for example, the cost of publishing eight issues of an eight-page tabloid newspaper which was sent to an extensive mailing list throughout the state. Nor does it include the large campaign expenses of various local "progressive committees" which technically had no connection with the main "Progressive Committee." When all these items are taken into account, the amount spent by the "progressives" will be seen to approximate the $30,000 estimate attributed to us in *The Nation's* comment.

LESTER ROSNER,
Assistant State Secretary,
American Labor Party

New York, June 12

Are Aliens People?

Dear Sirs: As an alien who certainly does not want to overthrow the American government—I have been fighting for the American way of living in my own country for the last twenty years—I wish to express my sincere gratitude for *The Nation's* kind words in the interest of refugees. If there is a prejudice against aliens in this country, it is perhaps due to the scanty knowledge of the Latin sentence, *"Humani nil a me,"* the alien-haters. They probably know the Latin sentence, *"Humani nil a me alienum puto,"* and translate it as "No alien is a human being."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, June 6

Is This Hypocrisy?

Dear Sirs: In your issue of May 25 you have permitted one of your readers to describe my article of May 11 as "sheer hypocrisy." Her thesis is that if one is a pacifist one must not venture to pass a favorable judgment upon the German war machine as such, nor contrast unfavorably with it the Allied bungling.

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I am accused of professing pacifism and applauding successful militarism. I have never applauded militarism, but when a soldier does a good job, whether he be American or French or English or German, I believe in saying so, which is the reason why, for one example, I have so steadily praised General Pershing's leadership of our army in France. Naturally that praise does not mean that I believe we should have sent an army to France, or that I think any lasting good can come out of war and mass murder. But one who seeks to be an objective journalist must, in judging military events, write not as a protagonist of peaceful methods, or as a propagandist, but as an informed commentator. I am opposed to our prison system as it generally is in the United States, but that does not keep me from praising a Warden Lawes, or a penitentiary like that at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

Your correspondent's second point is that England is inefficient in military matters "because the nation has been weakened by peace talk such as Mr. Villard advocates and by a belief in the League of Nations." How absurd that is! The British government sabotaged and then abandoned the League. It has each year, even under Ramsay MacDonald, spent enormous sums for preparedness, as has our own government; it has never, any more than our own, outlawed war as an instrument of national policy, not even when it and we were signing the Kellogg-Briand Pact. It has kept the largest navy in the world in a high state of efficiency. It is, to every American's grief, thus far losing the war upon which it has embarked, not, however, because its soldiers and sailors have failed to show the historic British courage, but because its statesmen could neither preserve the peace nor provide competent military leadership and organization for the event of war, which it always kept before its people as a possible contingency.

I suppose your correspondent will also criticize me for praying for an Allied victory. Must one who hates the system of war therefore wish for victory for the worst kind of criminals? Is my prayer also "sheer hypocrisy"?

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

New York, June 7

More on Mr. MacLeish

Dear Sirs: Archibald MacLeish's article The Irresponsibles, in *The Nation* of May 18, seems to me to be merely another attempt, of a sort peculiar to our time, to lower the values of knowledge before the values of action.

In the first place, the statements that the man of letters once existed and exists no longer, having "been driven from our world and our time by the division of his kingdom"; that "neither the modern scholar nor the modern writer admits responsibility" for the defense of culture, now "destroyed in Germany, Russia, Spain, and elsewhere"; that "the invisible world, the intellectual world, the world of the relation of ideas, the world of judgments, of values, the world in which truth is good and lies are evil, this world has no existence for the honest artist or for the honest writer who takes the artist as his model"—all these statements are falsehoods.

On the contrary, one may assert: First, the division of the "man of letters" into the artist and the scholar, if it took place at all, took place in the sixteenth century, long before our time.

Second, culture is not something that can be defended against destruction by means of direct action. It can only be defended by upholding in one's own work a given tradition or by adding something to it. The tradition of the Western European nations certainly has nothing whatever to do with the pseudo-culture of the "Nordic Aryan," as in Germany, or of the "proletariat" as in Russia, or of a Catholicism emptied of local folk differences and regional autonomies, as in Spain. All these pseudo-cultures are based, not upon human sympathy or comprehension, but upon action for the sake of action. Mr. MacLeish wants us to oppose them by the means of more action. It cannot be done.

Third, the statement that "the invisible world . . . the world in which truth is good and lies are evil . . . has no existence for the honest artist or for the honest writer who takes the artist as his model" is the greatest falsehood of all. How, if this world has no existence for the honest writer can that writer be honest about his own work? Mr. MacLeish has apparently never even seen the distinction between doing and being, between the writer as writer and the writer as man. Or if he does see it, as in the case of Francisco Goya, who surely passed a moral judgment on a war, then it is only to avoid it.

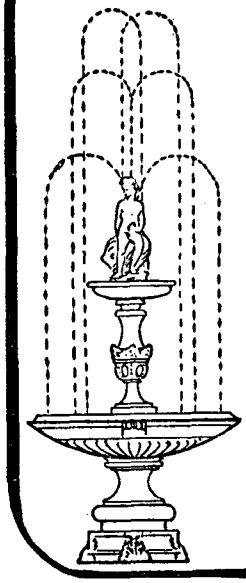
Does Mr. MacLeish recommend that we should all work ourselves up to a state of emotional frenzy in order the better to fight the frenzy loosed upon the world by Adolf Hitler? And if so, what then becomes of our culture—our culture which has given us, not only Voltaire as he says, but the virtue which Voltaire prized so highly, to see things clearly, to uphold the rights of freedom of speech, thought, judgment, and conscience? Are we, because other cultures have been regimented, to regiment ours?

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER

Roland, Ark.

Dear Sirs: Mr. MacLeish reveals himself a true *laudator temporis acti.* There are no more Miltons, he complains, but only pedantic scholars on the one hand and superficial scribblers on the other; history, he believes, will indict the present generation for producing no men of letters to guide the destinies of nations.

He is absolutely right: Milton was the last of the great humanists. But the



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world moves on. Mr. MacLeish misses the point. For there can be no men of letters in a world in which literature, through no fault of its own, has lost its effectiveness, its monopoly of the minds of men. The pen is no longer mightier than the sword. Men are now swayed by the unpremeditated word, the immediate message, carried around the world in the twinkling of an eye by radio, telephone, and newspaper. That is not literature and never can be, for literature is a fine art.

As for scholarship, again Mr. MacLeish is right—but beside the point. Nine-tenths of the scholarship of the world has always been pedantic and always will be. Time winnows the wheat from the chaff. The great scholars of past ages stand out like giants; we forget the horde of little minds who clustered in their shadow. Knowledge expands; individuals shrink.

I am a teacher of the past; and I say that above all we need today to learn the lessons of the past—but that does not mean preserving or reviving the patterns of the past.

DEAN P. LOCKWOOD

Haverford College

Dear Sirs: I am neither a writer nor a scholar, but Mr. MacLeish's clarion call makes me want to tell you what I think.

Mr. MacLeish refers to Milton and Voltaire as men of learning who accepted responsibility for the defense of our culture; at the present time we have Thomas Mann, Archibald MacLeish himself, Rockwell Kent, Paul Robeson, Harold C. Vrey, Franz Boas, Robert Sherwood, Bertrand Russell. But Max Lerner effectively showed that individual geniuses cannot, merely with ideas, rescue us unless we militantly and aggressively organize to translate their ideas into action. As Mr. Lerner points out, it "would be dangerous" for scholars and writers to turn the light of truth on the problem—dangerous to what Mr. Lerner calls "corporate capitalism," but more dangerous to the individual writer or scholar, because of the risk of being labeled "Communist," "fifth columnist," or "un-American."

What is the answer then? No one step or measure can possibly be sufficient—but here is my suggestion: a strong, democratically run labor movement—I mean a real one! Let no one forget that, whether his collar is white, or blue, or celluloid, or absent altogether, if a man has to hold out his hand for a pay-check, he is in the ranks of labor. Labor has been divided and weakened in its fight by specialization. Let us learn from this and unite our specialties in writing, painting, composing, researching, teaching for war on the "anti-civilizations," on the "anti-cultures," on the "againsts." And we had better begin right now!

M. A. HUBERMAN

New Haven, Conn.

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